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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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THE STANDARD.

THE "KNOW-NOTHING" MOVEMENT:

ITS INFLUENCE UPON THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE.

VIEWS OF HON. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

[Part of a Lecture, delivered by Mr. Adams, at the Broadway Tabernacle, New York, Jan. 30.]

In opposition to this moral Goliath of Slavery, with a spear-staff like a weaver's beam, its head weighing six hundred shekels of iron, coming forward, in the pride of his strength, to look down all opposition to his sway, what have the friends of human liberty, of equal rights, and of eternal justice, to produce? Their only champion is a TRUTH which commands the assent of all sincere republicans over the globe; a truth hallowed at the birth of American liberty, and twined into the heart of every man who feels the wrongs of the slave. This truth is invincible, only because it cannot die. Not like the fabled Antæus of old, when worsted, borrowing new strength from contact with the earth alone; but rather most invigorated the farther it is removed above it, towards the skies. The history of the present century is a history of frequent defeats, and yet of gradual and certain progress to success. Where is the combination that rallied this country, with astonishing unanimity, in 1835, against the very naming of the word slavery? Gone! resolved into its original elements! Where are the two great political organizations next dividing the country on matters of momentary concern, whilst each kept true to one duty, of presenting a wall of brass around the great object of common protection? Gone! crumbled away, gradually but certainly, under the mining process which they could neither remedy nor prevent. Where is the elaborate association of 1850, which sought to fix upon the ægis of the Union a Medusa's head, with which to turn all the enemies of slavery into stone? Gone to ruin, like all the rest! Neither is it fair to say that this has been brought about by the work of men's hands. The power of the anti-slavery organization, as such, has at no time been adequate to produce similar results. Always numerically feeble, always looked down upon by its more powerful neighbours, it has yet seen its principles gradually working their way into their vitals, until now that there is little left to oppose their progress, and yet that party itself appears little more in the ascendant than it did at its commencement.

The cause of this peculiarity must be looked for in the vacillation of purpose characteristic of the public policy of a free people. It is not that they do not now generally assent to the great truth which makes the strength of the anti-slavery cause. The difficulty is, that it seems to them an abstraction, not connected, as in the case of the slaveholders, with any temporal, absorbing self-interest. Hence it happens that, in the field of local politics, it supplies no steady motive of action, but is put aside for the benefit of other principles and other measures, which, at the moment, seem to have a closer relation to their own immediate action. It follows that, when public men are selected to represent the free States, there is no one principle predominant in the choice. It is not enough that a man shall be known to be an unflinching friend of freedom. A large and powerful body consider that quality as of little use, if he be not true to their opinions concerning some local measure, as, for example, that to suppress the traffic in ardent spirits. Another wish him to be right on free trade, or on the duty of protecting home manufactures. If he does not agree with all these opposite views, his utility in the slavery contest is overlooked by some of them; and they will very probably vote to defeat him, and elect some opponent who agrees with them in their favourite idea, even though he should be lukewarm, or even worse, in his views of the question of freedom. Thus, with the great multiplication of diverse fancies, which inevitably happens in a country where opinions are at perfect liberty, come also a divided representation in the federal government, and distracted councils. A struggle then takes place between a hundred and fifty men animated by one idea, and two hundred and fifty animated, say, by twenty different ideas. The issue is obvious. No one can wonder that the smaller and best compacted force should, for the moment, claim all the honours of the victory.

The latest instance of a serious deflection of this sort occurred a few months ago, the importance of which mainly depended upon the fact that it happened at a moment when the general sentiment of the country betokened, for the first time, a decisive triumph of liberty. You, doubtless, understand me to refer to the combination, made in a novel form, but now widely extended, having for its ostensible object the exclusion of foreign-born persons and Roman Catholics from all share of power over public affairs. The merits or demerits of this movement, and the means to which it resorts to gain its ends, present questions deserving of consideration in their place, but which are wholly foreign to the present occasion. You will, however, perhaps bear with me a few moments more, if I add a word upon the relation which this new agitation seems to me to bear particularly to the slave-question. So far as it may be likely to interest honest people who have heretofore associated the support of the power of a few slaveholders with their ideas of genuine democracy, I think the change will be from a greater to a less error, and therefore for the better. In like manner I will say that, in so far as it may draw away the very respectable gentlemen who have laboured to save slavery, thinking all the while they were saving the Union, to another field of labour of a more harmless character, the difference may be counted a gain. Neither of these classes has yet shown anything else than a great repugnance to embrace the doctrines which we uphold. But there are other persons, I am sorry to add—and the number in my own State, if not in others, is quite large, who have heretofore ranked among the most earnest friends of liberty—whose course in joining this crusade has penetrated me with feelings of profound concern. It is of them, and them only, I would speak in the present connection. That they have acted under an honest belief that they are thus more fully carrying out their cherished principles, I do not permit myself to doubt. Suspecting, not without reason, that Romanism in America has been generally arrayed in opposition to their views, they have regarded an attack upon that as equivalent to the overthrow of one of the outposts of slavery in the free States. A few may have been precipitated into it by impatience at the obstacles interposed to the apparent progress of the direct anti-slavery movement, and by the attraction of the new patent for gaining ground by secrecy and surprises. Whilst I can understand and allow for all these inducements to leave the old path, I am not the less convinced that they have led to a serious mistake, the effects of which may be to postpone, at least for a time, our hopes of an early triumph. My reasons for this opinion must be very briefly given. They are these:

1. There is no road so good to travel to get an an object as the straight road. Every turning, however slight at first, may, if we follow it long enough, lead a very different way, from which it will not be easy to get back again to the right one. At best, the course of our friends is like descending from a clear, strong, well-fortified position, to a weaker, a less defined and more extended one. As I have already remarked, the power of anti-slavery lies in the TRUTH. The more directly it can be kept before the world, freed from ambiguities and irrelevant associations of every kind—the more singly it can be presented to the mind, the more hold it will gain upon the public confidence. One great obstacle to its progress in the past has been the skilful use made by its enemies of the materials furnished by its own friends to fasten upon it burdens which it was under no call to bear. This error has been too often committed in every stage of the struggle, and has never been firmly enough resisted. "One thing at a time" (the maxim of John De Witt in the management of high affairs of State) is equally applicable to measures of reform. Attacking the influence of a religious demomination of Christians is a process of itself somewhat novel in American politics, and introduces a complete change in those grounds of controversy which had been taken in the slave-question. And, as if this were not enough, another dispute is superadded upon the rights of foreigners to share in the councils of the country they have chosen to adopt; which is a second time diverting the public attention to a different decision upon a still different train of reasoning. On these questions, it is by no means unlikely that the slaveholders themselves might be found ranged on the same side with our friends. They have no sympathy with foreigners, a very large proportion of whom shun the territories worked by slave-labour, in order to settle, improve and enrich the free States. They care little about Catholics as such, for the same reason. Why, then, are they not fit, if they choose it, to rush into the new movement, and control it, at least in their own States? But, if they do, what becomes of our old friends? Like the dog in the fable, who, in snapping at the shadow, lost his bone in the water, they will spend their strength upon inferior issues, whilst the slaveholder profits of the respite which he wants, to hide the progress of slavery out of sight of the people. For slavery does not diminish its power meanwhile. Every day's delay adds hundreds and thousands of dollars to the weight in the scale which must have its corresponding counterpoise on the side of freedom. I cannot but think, then, that anti-slavery men have got into the wrong place and into wrong company—that is, if they honestly mean to do anti-slavery work.

2. But they will reply to this objection by urging that they can prevail in this new and very popular movement, and finally succeed in giving to it the impulse of their own opinions against slavery; and this will be a great help to the cause, worth working for: to which I would object the fact that they have divided the anti-slavery force by their action, and left a large share of it outside the inclosure which they have entered. If the whole, when united, was not strong enough to give an anti-slavery character to the whole people and introduces a complete change in those grounds of controversy which had been taken in the slave-question. And, as if this were not enough, another dispute is superadded upon the rights of foreigners to share in the councils of the country they have chosen to adopt; which is a second time diverting the public attention to a different decision upon a still different train of reasoning. On these questions, it is by no means unlikely that the slaveholders themselves might be found ranged on the same side with our friends. They have no sympathy with foreigners, a very large proportion of whom shun the territories worked by slave-labour, in order to settle, improve and enrich the free States. They care little about Catholics as such, for the same reason. Why, then, are they not fit, if they choose it, to rush into the new movement, and control it, at least in their own States? But, if they do, what becomes of our old friends? Like the dog in the fable, who, in snapping at the shadow, lost his bone in the water, they will spend their strength upon inferior issues, whilst the slaveholder profits of the respite which he wants, to hide the progress of slavery out of sight of the people. For slavery does not diminish its power meanwhile. Every day's delay adds hundreds and thousands of dollars to the weight in the scale which must have its corresponding counterpoise on the side of freedom. I cannot but think, then, that anti-slavery men have got into the wrong place and into wrong company—that is, if they honestly mean to do anti-slavery work.

3. But it may be said that this difficulty can be avoided by joining the new organization in great force, in which case these excellent men will receive all the support their friends would be delighted to give them. But there is no proof that even this would avail in the new association, formed upon a strange basis, to place them exactly in the same prominent attitude which they occupy now as champions upon the old one. They are *opponents of slavery*, known as such the country over, representing those who have declared this to be their cardinal principle. How are they to gain any strength or honour by changing front, and announcing that thus far they have acted blindly and ignorantly—that there was something else more important than slavery which they had overlooked and forgotten? They must first persecute the Irishman and the Englishman, the German, the Frenchman, and the Swede, disfranchise them, degrade them, turn them into beings scarcely above the grade of slaves; they must first wage a fierce religious war against the Catholic, native or stranger, to put him down; and, after they shall have succeeded in doing all that, they will be particularly fitted by their experience to take up the cause of the poor black slave. Moreover, I would venture to submit a question, how, by this variation of policy, they are going to stand in relation to the determined men who do not consent to turn aside, for any such considerations, to the right or to the left—who nail their flag to the mast, and fight on, fight ever, in behalf of their old opinions and the policy to which they are pledged? Is not some consideration due to them whose principles have been tried over and over again, and have never been found wanting; who have not, for one instant, been led away, by the temptation of accidental advantage, to the substitution of any other object for the paramount question of liberty; still stand where they have ever stood, more ready to take the lead in a moment of danger and desertion than when things looked more promising, and numbers indicated an earlier triumph? I say it, boldly and without flinching, of those champions of the cause whom I have named, although I have no authority whatever to speak for them, that, through good report and through evil report, whoever else may fail, they will be true to the main principle to which they long ago pledged their faith, that the slave-question *must* be made paramount to every other consideration in the present emergency in our public affairs.

4. Furthermore: the assumption of an obligation of any sort, which binds men to keep their movements secret, opens a question of morals of the most serious character, upon which anti-slavery men may reasonably entertain grave doubts, if not decided objections. Secrecy in political action implies one of two things—either the object to be gained is not an honourable one, and therefore men are ashamed or afraid to avow it before the world; or else, supposing that object to be good, the means by which it is to be attained are to be used to gain an advantage by surprise over somebody. At best, it is no better than the warfare of the savage, who, in the thickness of the forest, or from the depth of a secret cave, aims his deadly rifle at the traveller, suspicious of nothing, who is following his straight road to his destination. I cannot withhold the opinion that, under such a cover as this furnishes, the best public objects may at any time be degraded in the pursuit to a level with the worst: the very best men may be put far below the meanest. Even if the opposition to slavery could be made to triumph by such an agency, in my poor judgment the victory would be stripped of half its moral splendour in the process. We claim, as a class, to be honest, free-spoken, conscientious, God-fearing men, having nothing to conceal, and entertaining no malice to a single human being. We resist the slaveholders, because we feel the evils that flow from their devotion to a highly pernicious institution; but we do not seek to enter into any conspiracies against them. They are men, brethren, fellow-citizens, bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh, unduly biassed perhaps to countenance, perhaps to extend, what we consider fatal evils in public affairs, but at any rate conducting themselves manfully, and without disguises. I would treat them frankly in return. In the experience of a life now considerably beyond its prime, it has been my fortune to find those men most worthy of confidence, whether friendly or hostile, who are the most straightforward, and without concealments. They are the persons whose word I most rely upon in my private relations. They are the men whose action I can most surely count upon in public trusts. I cannot well conceive of that noble image presented by the Roman lyrical poet of the true hero—

> "Justum et *tenacem propositi* virum
> Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
> Non vultus instantis tyranni
> Mente quatit solida"—

I say, I cannot conceive of a man thus described so fixed to his purpose as to heed neither the misguided passion of a dictating crowd, nor the frown of an impatient despot, as capable of slinking, in the darkness of the night, into some secret place of assignation, to consult with others upon the best way to conceal what they all think, and to contrive with the most effect some trap which they intend to spring upon their fellow-men. I cannot imagine such a man submitting to swear an oath to keep secret whatever may be devised, good, bad, or indifferent, in the objects of his pursuit, even from the sovereign tribunals of the State, and, furthermore, to comply with the will of the majority, though it may conflict with his personal preference, and his judgment of the course the best interests of the country demand. Had such patriotism as this prevailed in the heroic age of the republic, when the word *virtue* implied courage, capacity, and honour, [illegible] George Washington could not have run the noblest career that ever fell to the lot of man; and Lafayette, and Montgomery, Charles Lee, Stirling, Pulaski, Steuben, and De Kalb, who shed their blood—nay, some of whom even laid down their lives—in the cause of a land not their own by birth, would have been placed in a scale of merit beneath the mercenary treachery of a native like Benedict Arnold, and the calculating trickery of the school of Aaron Burr.

No, my friends, I cannot persuade myself that the noble band of patriots and martyrs who pledged all they valued on earth, their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honour, to the cause of their country, would have redeemed that pledge so well as they did, if they had gone into by-places to listen for a moment to the proposal of an oath secretly to effect the expulsion from their ranks of any of the brave volunteers from distant lands, merely for the reason that they were strangers or Roman Catholics. It is very true that, in a few cases, they had cause, and very just cause, to be offended with the behaviour of some from among them who proved unworthy adventurers rushing here in the crowd with better men. But, when that happened, they made their complaint openly, frankly, as became honest men. One great occasion of dissatisfaction was, that they had entered into something like a secret society, the object of which was to set aside Washington from the chief command. That society became known under the name of its head, the *Conway cabal*. But did the father of his country lower himself so far as to attempt to retaliate in the same way? Did he go into counterplots and secret oaths and contrivances to effect their removal? No, indeed. Nobody would have suspected it of him. He dealt with his enemies in the broad daylight, with the skies of heaven for his canopy, and thousands of his countrymen for his witnesses. His magnanimity put to shame their meanness. Their leader confessed his error, implored forgiveness, and then slunk into obscurity; glad to put the widest distance between himself and the scenes of his dastardly conspiracy.

If I am correct in these opinions, then there are two errors of the first concoction which render the new movement in all its forms utterly repugnant to the true [illegible] America. I mean the secret obligation, and the absence of moral foundation in the discrimination set up between men. The first subjects the right of private judgment absolutely to the will of an accidental majority. The second involves the bad and the good, the innocent and the guilty, the industrious and the idle, alike in one common fate, which no act of their own incurs or can avert. The fugitive Protestants from the persecutions of Louis the XIVth, instigated by the bigotry of his Jesuit confessor, many of whom came to America, and left behind them names honoured ever since as among those of the best citizens, would have fared worse, in their day, than the convicts sent to the colonies in order to relieve the mother country from a burden by transferring it to them. This is not justice, nor humanity, nor even sound political economy. Emigration is one of the great moral agencies which is doing more than ever was done in any former age to change the face of the world; which is spreading the light of Christianity into the dark and benighted regions of all its various continents; which is even now stretching civilization along the western coast of North America, as it did, in the last two centuries, on the eastern; which is vivifying the deserts of Australia; which is humanizing the barbarism of Africa; and which is wearing away the prejudices of caste, even among the petrified institutions of the East. The exclusive bigotry, which seems now for the first time losing its hold in its remaining fastness—the islands of Japan—must not take its flight from there, only to settle down upon the banks of the Hudson or of the Mississippi, or to find a home upon the crests of the Alleghany or the Rocky Mountains. Such is the declaration of genuine philanthropy, which looks above the arbitrary and conventional demarcations of man's invention, and appeals to the mission of Christ as the great symbol of a revelation, that the good God above looks upon all men alike.

Upon no other foundation than this can the anti-slavery cause firmly repose. No aid nor true defenders can it obtain from among those who advocate proscription of any kind, merely on account of difference of race. The men who assumed that defence did it in behalf of a people originally torn from their native land, and brought to this against their will, who have ever since been deprived, by force, not merely of civil rights, official distinctions, and social privileges, but of the fruits of their own labour, and of the secure enjoyment of their domestic affections. How can they continue their exertions, and, at the same time, countenance any other form of proscription bearing the remotest analogy to that of which they complain? How can they say to-day, that the slaveholder is a tyrant, who puts his heel on the neck of his slave, only because God made him of a different colour from his own, and set him in Africa instead of in Europe, and to-morrow build a wall between themselves and others of their fellow-men, because God placed them, at the time of their birth, somewhere else than in the United States?

And, if this claim to establish an invidious distinction, abridging the rights of others, be a pretension to exercise an odious power, how much more revolting does it look when connected with an adjuration of the Divine Being to curse those who fail to keep their hostile schemes secret from the objects of their persecution! Can it be possible that the native sons of America, proud of their liberty to say before the world what they honestly think, without being called to account for it by king or people, in their sovereign capacity; proud of their unpurchasable freedom of the press; proud of possessing the only asylum to which the persecuted for conscience' sake may fly, and find safety from the despotisms of the old world; they who, but a few months since, with one loud shout, demanded at the hand of the Austrian monarch the person of Martin Koszta, although he had no rights of nativity, nor even those of adopted citizenship, but merely because he had declared his intention to become an American, and who got him too; can it be possible, I say, that they are insensible to the ridicule, if nothing worse, of going into secret conclave, like the conspirators who could not get rid of Julius Cæsar and his tyranny in any other way, to do with mystery, and in an indirect, ungenerous manner, what they may, if they choose, do openly and boldly? And, upon the top of this inconsistency, to shut out of their company all of their brethren, who, though they may even agree with them in their exclusive policy, and approve their measures, yet, because they feel a scruple about the propriety of secret obligations, must be rejected from all confidence and public trust—this, it would seem, should open the eyes, at least, of those opponents of slavery who have enrolled themselves in the crusade, to the utterly unjustifiable and unworthy character of he position they have chosen to occupy. Let them remember that the record they make now in the annals of the nation is that which will go down in immediate contrast with the honourable story of their fathers. Its errors and faults, its weakness and its meanness, will stand in vivid contrast with their wisdom and their heroism, their manliness and their truth.

The last consideration which I propose now to submit to the opponents of slavery, who are in that order, is a practical one, drawn from the reminder that they have once more placed themselves in the same relative position towards slaveholders which they heretofore occupied in the old parties, and from which they strove to escape by renouncing them. If a greater latitude of individual opinion be allowed them, and the mere fact that they are opponents of slavery is not so absolute a bar to personal advancement as in the former case, it should be remembered, on the other hand, that they were not then bound by any obligation to suppress all public remonstrance against the action of the majority, or to comply with their will, even where they strongly disapprove what is decided upon. In both cases, the determination not to make slavery a test in the selection of candidates for public confidence is the same. In both is the same disposition to interpose the national shield for the protection of the Slave Power in the Federal Government. Slaveholders may come in, with all their extreme and aggressive spirit, and may push their peculiar policy within the order just as vigorously as they have through the secrecy which is marked additional effect means of operation. They may wield exactly the same means of deciding between opposing interests, and rival aspirants for public honours, among the citizens of the free States, in favour of those who will promise the greatest fidelity to them. And what have anti-slavery men better to hope from this experiment than from all those which have gone before it, and failed? What more than to be out-voted by a skilful resort to divisions among themselves, and at last to find it necessary to secede again, or quietly to remain, and submit to be ruled? In the meanwhile, however, how much ground will have been lost by the vain and impotent experiment! how much of consistency and of self-respect, the very marrow of all moral power in the great struggles of life, will have been sacrificed!

For it should ever be borne in mind, as I said at the beginning, that we are under the dominion of an overpowering necessity, which makes the slave-question more and more a matter of national concern. The light of every day's sun shines upon new hundreds of beings who go to swell the causes of difference that already exist in far too great numbers. There is not a moment even of truce which leaves things as it found them. The revolution of each year places the parties to this contention in a changed relation of loss or gain to that which they held at its beginning, which makes their labours harder or easier for the next. The incidental circumstances which from time to time come in to disturb or to delay may, indeed, be only temporary; but they are serious taxes upon the strength of a new generation, which will accomplish with difficulty what the present might have done with ease. We all understand that, before such a question, the duration of man's life is nothing. It is *the* question of human liberty, not in America only, but all over the world; and no earthly power can prevent a decision of it, for good or for evil, at some time or other, in this land. Silence is itself a power which will, before long, determine it, and determine it wrong; for it is in silence that the slave-influence grows the fastest, and intrenches itself the deepest. Aggressive it cannot help being, if it would. It is from the strong positions thus secured that now it is meditating new inroads upon the political strength of the free States. It is spreading its nets over the territories that stretch to the broad ocean of the West. It is scheming for the acquisition of the Antilles, [illegible] the lands on the Spanish Main. It is not without hope [illegible] ing the horrors of the middle passage, and introducing more foreigners, about whose rights, however, there will be no cause of complaint given to the native American. Nothing but open, energetic, loud-spoken resistance will do to prevent all this from becoming the settled policy of the nation. It must be early too, and vigilant; for the victories of the Slave Power are always gained at last by surprise, and when the citizens of the free States are the most unheeding. Above all, it must be *united*. Never was there a time when union of all the true, disinterested friends of the country was more imperatively demanded than now. I care not what the names by which they designate their public action. And this not so much to destroy slavery, as to defend freedom; not to weaken the Union, but to make it more lasting; not to annul the Constitution, but to keep in it the only principles which can really make it live. Such a union is attainable but by one method which will make it truly effective, the same which has ever carried all great enterprises to success. I mean by close adherence to *one idea*. Much as this course has been censured by the designing, or ridiculed by the thoughtless, it needs no demonstration to establish its wisdom. Surely the Apostle Paul was not a bad exemplar, when he charged the faithful of Philippi, that they "stand fast *in one spirit, with one mind*, striving *together* for the faith of the gospel." The same injunction is imperative upon all good men now. The times are yet propitious. The country has been moved as never before. The ears of the people are open to hear and to receive. Let *us*, then, likewise, "stand fast *in one spirit*, with *one mind*, striving *together* for the faith" of freedom.

Am I asked what I desire to see done? The answer is plain. I would have the people do no injury to the slaveholder, rob him of none of his rest, nor harm a hair of his head, or any of those who are dear to him. But I would have them do all that is possible to deprive him of the power of harm to the country or to them. To this end, it seems indispensable that he be dislodged from the strongholds in the federal government. Neither he, nor anyone that he will select, should be made President of the United States, or be placed in any other situation of responsibility in which he could avail aught to prevent an entire reversal of the policy which has, for a long time back, been prompted to promote his peculiar interests. Instead of perpetuating and extending slavery, every effort should be directed to the great object of releasing the general government from all responsibility for it or connection with it. The *word* should not be seen in the statute book. The *thing* should not be known where the national flag waves over national territory. The seat of government should not be dishonoured by its presence. The free States should be secure from its encroachments. And upon no consideration whatever should any extension of the Slave Power in the councils of the Union, by the introduction of new States subject to its influence, be permitted.

This is the answer to the second question which I proposed at the opening—How is Slavery to be treated on the part of the free States? Let it be left exclusively to the management of those who are responsible for its existence within the States where it is to be found; but let it be a burden upon no one outside. More than this, anti-slavery men, with all their abhorrence of the wrong, do not demand. Short of this, nothing will avail for their own security at home. It will not abolish slavery directly; but it will maintain and perpetuate freedom as the universal rule, which may lead, in the end, to voluntary emancipation, as the result of the convictions of slaveholders themselves. To this task, then, we must address ourselves. Difficult as it seems to execute, to earnest minds and steady hearts, animating a strong will, it may verify the lesson of the poet—

> "Walls of brass resist not
> A noble undertaking; nor can vice
> Raise any bulwark to make good the place
> Where virtue seeks to enter."

My friends, we seek no ignoble objects or selfish ends. Let those contend who will for the temporary honours which the people will confer on those who please them best. The ambition to deserve them is not a mean nor a discreditable incentive to exertion. But there is an aspiration higher than that. It is to strive to do that people good even against their will; whilst admiring their virtues, not to be slow to point out their faults; to awaken their sleeping conscience, even though they may not bless, at the moment, the faithful sentinel for doing only his duty. Such be *our* province. The glory of contributing to save America from becoming the greatest nursery of slaves which the world has ever seen, were it even to be attained at the price of a crown of thorns, would shed from every drop of blood of each separate wound it made a ray of purer lustre than could come from the most sparkling gems that ever graced a monarch's brow. Let us strive, with all our might, in the faith that a peaceful triumph may sooner or later yield us this abundant reward.

TO W. L. G.

ON READING HIS "CHOSEN QUEEN."

A LOYAL subject, thou, to that bright Queen,
To whom the homage of thy soul is paid;
Long to her cause devoted thou hast been,
And many a sacrifice for her hast made.
Thy chosen Queen, O champion of Truth,
Should be th' acknowledged sovereign of all;
Her first commands should fire the heart of youth,
And graver age list heedful to her call.
Thou, who so bravely dost her battles fight,
With truer weapons than the blood-stained sword,
And teachest us that greater is the might
Of *moral* warfare, noble thought and word,
On thee shall rest the blessing of mankind,
As one who nobly dost the Right defend;
Than thee, thy chosen Queen shall never find
A truer subject nor a firmer friend.

—*Liberator.* C. L. F.

DEMON OF THE BLACK POWER.

[Extract from an Oration, delivered in West Chester, Pa., upon the Anniversary of Washington's Birth Day, by Rev. Robert Lowry.]

[illegible] *Black Power* has the Nation by the [illegible] legislation has shorn this monster [illegible] lation; while it is certain that the inevitable and predetermined tendency of much legislation has been to extend its ravages and increase its victims. Slavery, as a popular institution, is stronger today, with all the augmented wealth and industry of the North, than at any time since the formation of the Government. The Slave interest in the Halls of our National Legislature is more potent than the voice of millions of Northern freemen. Resistance to the demands of a Southern caucus is certain defeat to the party that oppose. Never did such an oligarchy find place under the shadow of Free Institutions. It is an anomaly in the workings of political science to tolerate at the heart of a free nation a spirit whose very aliment is the virus of Despotism. It cannot be that the brood of the serpent and the eaglets of Freedom remain in the same nest forever. The extermination of *one* race or separate nests for *both* must be the ultimate alternative.

It cannot be disguised that we are verging toward a great crisis, which will try the patriot's heart-strings to their utmost tension. The Union, prized, prayed for, eulogized, almost *deified*, swings on the pivot of the Slave Question. All other clouds on the national horizon are but flimsy vapour, compared with this robe of midnight that covers the heavens like a pall. The statesmen of the Past met the Evil as an insolent mendicant; and, having not the moral courage to deny the boon demanded, invited it to the National fireside to conciliate its wrath. The statesmen of the Present find the world's outcast still sitting at the Nation's hearth, now master of the Domicil, and more insolent than ever. The politicians of the day not only dare not eject the intruder, but have no power to curtail its demands. What has the South ever asked for that she has not obtained? What administration ever held the ship of State that she did not direct? And yet the sordid hacks of the political stable fawn on her favours and evade her frowns. We cannot stave off the solution of this monster problem. We may travel through domestic feuds and riven ties and dismembered States to find it, but the solution will come at any price. How long will the Nation make compromise of its virtue with the rapacious encroachments of the Black Power?

What is the prime element in the "Manifest Destiny" doctrine of the political Solons of the times? Is "Destiny" of such tropical tendencies that it can only make advances toward the [illegible] We have we no "Destiny" to the shores of the St. Lawrence and the banks of the New Foundland? Why have we no "Destiny" into Baffin's Bay and Russian America? Why have we no *ten millions* for a strip of North-Eastern territory, or for some fertile "Mesilla" in British America? The answer is obvious. The demands of the Slavocracy are the rule of national policy. We can inscribe on our banners "Fifty-Four Forty or Fight," and then give away a portion of Oregon; we can make patriotic speeches on the integrity of our territory, and then yield, with a diplomatic flourish, a slice of the State of Maine; because those Northern climes are not exactly adapted to our *Peculiar Institution*, and we could not afford to go to war for soil that cannot be employed in the humane purpose of slave-breeding. Every project for the annexation of territory, either by purchase or conquest, has been for the interest of the Black Power. Why this morbid grasping after foreign territory? It is not even pretended that it is needed by the demands of immigration. "To preclude war with contiguous nations by incorporating the nations" is too specious a pretext, since the warlike nations are only *in one direction*. What is this territorial aggrandizement but the inhuman rapacity of the Slave Demon, entrenching itself in new acquisitions, and fortifying itself against anticipated danger? Let the American Union once be dissolved, and two-thirds of the territory will be consecrated to Human Bondage. And still the demand is renewed for drafts on our national treasury. It is not enough that Louisiana, Florida, Texas, New Mexico, California and the Mesilla Valley have almost all been devoted to the selling of blood and muscle, or held in reserve for future speculations in God's image. It is already intimated that Sonora is held loosely by the Mexican Republic, and "for a consideration" Lower California can easily be obtained; while the Southern fillibusters are unceasingly clamorous for Cuba, and have immortalized, in prospective, the name of *Kinney* as the entering wedge of the Slavocracy into Central America. No demands are too arrogant for this assurant Black Power. *Ex parte* legislation for Southern railroads is one of the smallest of its modest requests. Southern Conventions, with commercial colours and political cargoes, is but another phase of aggressive assumption. Fulsome threats of secession have always been the spectres that haunted Mason and Dixon's Line; while the Southern necromancers have availed themselves of Northern stupidity to prove themselves adepts in legislation, at the woful expense of the gullible North.

Never has iniquity made such encroachments on the patience and patriotism of a free people. Notwithstanding the vice of Slavery has disappeared from the Northern States, the influence of the slave interest on the Central Power was never greater than now. Previous to 1820, the policy of the Government was to guard the Territories from the spoliation of the Black Power, and shut it up within its allotted habitation. In that memorable year, the noted *Compromise*, which was to secure forever the dominion of Liberty north of 36 deg. 30 min., was but the magnanimous and honest relinquishment of Right, for the satisfaction of a weaker party, and allaying of sectional turbulence. It was a treaty in perpetuity for the permanent securement of the boundaries of Freedom, and the determination of the area within which the Black Power should be circumscribed. It was neither demanded by Justice nor Necessity. It might have been withheld on principles of Precedent, Power and Right. But *it was made*; solemnly, sacredly, honestly, as an everlasting settlement of the limits of Slavery and Freedom. Under its benign influence, the country coalesced, coöperated and flourished. In good faith, under the provisions of that Compromise, accessions of territory were made on our Southern border, and States, with pro-slavery constitutions, admitted to the Union. The North gazed on the steady encroachments of the Black Power not without alarm, but, true to the sacred pledges of the Missouri Compromise, welcomed the incorporation of Southern States, and endured the increasing domination of the Slave interest without resistance. Even amid the excitement and partisan furor of 1850, the too indulgent North, faithful to former compacts, and ever sacrificing for the sake of peace and union, tolerated the infamous and ever to be execrated Fugitive Slave law, that legislated our citizens into *compulsory slave-catchers*, and turned our Northern cities into *hunting grounds for Southern kidnappers*.

No page of American history will seem so incredible to the future student of our national rise and progress as the amazing and self-immolating policy of the mighty and magnanimous North. But what will that student say when he reads, that that same Compromise, ratified by the most solemn pledges, observed with scrupulous exactness by the faithful North, accepted by the high contracting parties and published to the world as the *ultimatum* of adjustments and compromises, was, in the year of our Lord, 1854, at the hour of midnight, by the Congress of the United States, ruthlessly, sacrilegiously *repealed? Repealed*, did I say? No! not *repealed*. *The Missouri Compromise cannot be repealed*. The House of Hapsburg could *repeal* the popular Constitution by forcing the people under the point of the bayonet; the perjured miscreant on the throne of France could *repeal* the Constitution of the Republic by ripping it up with his sword; and the *Missouri Compromise* could be *repealed* only by tearing it from the statute book of Honour, rending it into fragments, and throwing it on the altar of the Moloch of Despotism. There let it lie; bearing the sooty touch and sulphur smell of the Demon of the Black Power. Let the outraged North gaze on its mangled surface, and strike hands, in a true and faithful compact, that the encroachments of the Slave god shall end. Let not that Missouri Compromise, once violated, become a Compromise again. Let it hang as a trophy in the halls of the demon deity of Slavery; but let the virtuous North vow on the defiled altar of Truth and Justice that she has made her *last compromise* with the Embassadors of the Black [illegible] "Nebraska Iniquity has opened a [illegible] We have hitherto been the repellants in the war fare; we may now become assailants. The *whole land* is now before us. There is, indeed, "no North, no South" to limit the aggressions of either Slavery or Freedom. The only rampart that the Nation and the world regarded as sacred, against the ravages of the monster, has been broken down by a combination of Southern slaveholders, Northern doughfaces, political demagogues and hireling renegades. With the destruction of the Compromise of 1820, there are now no compromises to hem in the area of Freedom. The Fugitive Slave law of 1850 can be repealed in Congress, as it has already been by the people of the North. Mason and Dixon's Line and 36 deg. 30 min. are to have no place on the maps of Freedom. "No more Slave States in the Union" must now be the fiat of the aroused and incensed North. "No more *black stars* in our Country's flag" must now be the rallying cry of the American patriot. Shut up the foul spirit in its own graveyard. Let them hug their darling "Institution," till it burns, and poisons and destroys them. Carry the Ordinance of 1787 to the very threshold of the Slavocracy; and show them how the principles of that testament may be applied not only to the *North-west* Territory, but to the *South-west* Territory, and to *all Territory*. We accept the renunciation of all Compromises. Now let the battle be fought, in the name of Liberty and Humanity, against Human Bondage in every form. From the hills of New England, through our own Keystone State, and over the plains of the mighty West, the thunder of the *Ballot Box* has rung a death knell in the ear of those who have prostituted *place* and *power* to the service of the Slave Demon. Catch up the echo and roll it on, ye watchful sentinels of Freedom's Temple. Aye, the people are abroad in the highways of the Nation, gathering an education not taught in the schools. Woe unto that clan or party that stand in the way of an indignant people, made desperate by the friction of successive indignities, and eager to obtain vengeance in the cause of bleeding Humanity.

LETTER FROM SENATOR WILSON.

NATICK, Mass., March 10, 1855.

HON. GILBERT PILLSBURY—*Dear Sir:* You [illegible] communicated to me that my action in so much misrepresented that some of my friends, who have entire confidence in my fidelity to freedom, are anxious that I should state precisely what my action has been. You and my friends may be surprised at these misrepresentations, but I am not. When I entered the Senate, I expected to be misrepresented, and I have not been disappointed. These misrepresentations may give pain to my friends, and, perhaps, shake for a time their confidence in me, but they will not give me a single moment's anxiety, or deter me from acting in accordance with my own sense of duty.

Nineteen years ago, I solemnly resolved to give my humble efforts, in private and in public, to the Anti-Slavery cause. I have done so, and, in doing so, I have acted with men of all parties; and while I live, I expect to continue to do so. This action has subjected me to the charge of political inconsistency and personal ingratitude in the past, and I expect it will subject me to the same in the future.

You know, my dear sir, that, while my election was pending, I was fiercely denounced and opposed as an "Abolition agitator" and "Disunionist," and that the members of the Legislature were implored to defeat me if they hoped to "nationalize" the American party. You also know that, while I never travelled a single mile to secure a vote, or asked a single member of the Senate or House to vote for me, I publicly and distinctly stated to all men who asked my opinions what my views were upon the slavery question—and that I never modified or qualified my opinions or made any pledges to secure votes. You know, and my intimate friends know, that I told all men who asked my views, that my anti-slavery opinions were the matured convictions of my judgment—that I would not modify them to win any position on earth, and that I should inflexibly maintain them, even if, by so doing, the party with which I act should be shattered into fragments.

I went to Washington with the fixed purpose to maintain my opinions inflexibly, but to do so in a spirit of kindness and conciliation. I have done so and shall continue to do so.

When I arrived at Washington, I found that the slave propagandists and perpetualists were endeavouring to retain their waning power by misrepresenting me and those who think as I do in Massachusetts upon the slavery question. A series of questions were propounded to me by the conductor of a public journal in Washington. I saw an opportunity for me to state clearly and distinctly my position and the position of the people of my State upon the slavery question, and I frankly answered those questions. My answers to the questions propounded to me were truthful and consistent, and they were read and approved by veteran anti-slavery men. I have good reason to know that my answers to these questions have done much to disabuse the minds of our Southern brethren of prejudices and misapprehensions, and to show them our exact position upon the slavery question. That letter, for which I have been so much misrepresented by men who have denounced me as an "Abolitionist," "agitator" and "disunionist," has done more, in my humble opinion, to place the anti-slavery men right before those who have been deceived concerning them than anything I have ever uttered could have done.

A few days after I took my seat, I was called upon to vote to pay Indians for slaves taken by Texan marauders, and my vote was cheerfully recorded with men who do not believe that man can be rightfully the property of his fellow-man. I did not think to inquire if my vote would be acceptable to the American party or any other party. In the morning hour of the 21st of February, Mr. Chase moved to refer to a committee some petitions against slavery, and his motion was laid upon the table. The Senate on that day, for the first time, met at 11 o'clock instead of 12 o'clock. The change had escaped my attention, and I had made a business engagement that morning.

living in Louisville, Ky. A short time since, Mrs. Dennison died in Louisville, leaving a young babe, and Mr. Dennison requested a relative of the family, Dr. Miller, then on a visit to Kentucky, and who was about to return to Virginia, to take charge of the girl Rosetta, whom he intended as a nurse for his little girl. The Doctor accordingly started with the girl in his charge; but the state of the Ohio river made it necessary for him to take the railroad. He reached here on Saturday night, and, as the cars did not leave on Sunday, he was compelled to lie over. The news soon spread through our city that a slave was in our midst, and the Rev. Wm. B. Ferguson, a coloured Baptist minister, made complaint before the Judge of Probate, and the Sheriff was dispatched, at 12 o'clock on Saturday night, to take charge of the girl. Mr. Galloway, Mr. Carrington and Mr. Taylor were employed as counsel for the girl, and Mr. Heath Ware in behalf of the owner. Dr. Miller stated to the Court his agency in the case, and asked as a favour that the case might lie over until the 14th inst., at which time Mr. Dennison could reach here, and he could take such measures as he might deem advisable. But, the girl declared that she desired to remain in freedom in Ohio, and the legal question as to her rights being conceded, she was, as a minor, permitted to choose a guardian. L. G. Van Slyke, of this city, was selected, who gave bonds, and took charge of her person, to await the trial. If she shall hereafter wish to return to her friends in Virginia, there will probably be no obstacle thrown in the way.—*Ohio State Jour.*, 12*th inst.*

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SLAVERY.

The *Columbus* (Ga.) *Times* has the following side by side:

FOR SALE.—Forty likely young NEGROES, consisting of Men, Women, Boys and Girls. Planters wishing to purchase would do well to give us a call.
AYER & WILLIAMS.

"There is on exhibition at Temperance Hall a painting of the most striking scenes of the life of Christ, from the Annunciation to the Resurrection. The Christian public cannot fail to be pleased, instructed and edified by the exhibition. We were particularly pleased with the painting illustrative of that touching scene in the life of the Saviour, when he took *little children in his arms, and blessed them.*"

The Slave Dealers.—A correspondent of the *Tribune*, writing from the South, presents the following picture:

"The North is the field for the opponents o[illegible] Until your press, your churches, and your politicians evince more stamina and long as slavery is directly profitable to breeders and owners, it will never be abolished. On my way here from New York, I have passed more than one thousand negroes, in gangs of from twenty to eighty, under the charge of white human beings, called traders, the most revolting specimens of men, in morals, appearance and conversation, that I ever saw. They are looked upon by respectable men here with loathing, and until they get rich (for it is very lucrative), and retire from the business, they have no social position whatever. Mobile and New Orleans are the principal depôts for these droves of stocks, and the business for the past year has been poor, to judge from the representations of the dealers. The sickness here, last summer, took off sadly from the profits of the trade. All honour to New York for Seward's reelection. The wheel of progress is moving. He is looked upon here as the embodiment of Northern feeling (not Abolition exactly) that will, at some distant period, put an end to the system that disgraces us as a nation."

Cruelty—Slave Heroism.—A correspondent of the same paper furnishes the following sad details of Southern cruelty and slave heroism:

"In November last, while on a tour in the Southern States, on account of my business connections in Vermont and Massachusetts, upon the plantation of Mr. H— W—, in Wayne County, Mississippi, a negro, for some trifling offence, as pretending sickness, was sentenced to twenty-five lashes, on the bare back, to be given at his plantation, in presence of his wife, and all the other slaves. He was tied, hand and foot, in a most painful manner, in a dark hole, called the 'black hole,' until the punishment was inflicted, which was done in the most inhuman manner. After an attempt, and only for appearance sake, to cure his wounds, he was dismissed to the field, in a miserable condition. In about a week, he was strong enough to avail himself of an opportunity offered to escape; and, taking no clothing but what was absolutely necessary, he went to a large swamp in the neighbourhood, where, at night, he heard the horrid baying of blood-hounds, or, as they call them, "negro dogs." After most terrible agony for forty-eight hours, and the slightest possible chance of escape, he was left alone; and then commenced his trials. In a State the most inhuman in the Union, with no friends to assist him, not even the necessaries of life, *I met him.* I gave him a suit of clothes, some money, and, by dint of concealment in the daytime, and only travelling at night, he passed through Kentucky, and arrived in the land of freedom—i. e., on the borders of *Ohio*—in January, 1855. The weather was intensely cold, his feet horribly frosted, his clothes torn to shreds, but his heart uplifted by the hope of liberty. Meeting some kind friends, as they always do in Cincinnati, he was working manfully, in a secret place, to obtain money to go to Canada; and by this time he is well on the way, or I would fear to expose his whereabouts. I have since heard, from a friend of mine there, that his wife received ten lashes, for aiding in his escape. He is determined to coin enough money to buy his faithful wife, and both to live in a free State, where slaveholders and bloodhounds are not the boast of the community."

SOUTHERN TESTIMONY.

The following editorial letter, in the *Utica Morning Herald*, is a voucher for Uncle Tom's truths:

"It will be remembered that the work of Mrs. Stowe, soon after its appearance, was denounced by the 'conservative' press, and pulpit even, as a 'tissue of lies,' made up of impossible horrors, and designed as a studied misrepresentation of the slave system. The *New York Observer* rolled up its eyes in holy horror, and called upon Heaven to witness that the enormities portrayed were enormities of the authoress's imagination. Its echoes, religious and secular, denied that there were any Legrees at the South; denied that families were separated at the auction block; denied that bloodhounds were kept on the larger plantations, to hunt up such 'fugitives' as might take it into their heads to run away; denied that women were flogged like beasts, on their bare backs; denied that young mulatto women were sold as mistresses to any one who paid most; denied that slaves were flogged to death and roasted alive; denied, in short, everything except that slavery was beatific in its influences alike upon black and white.

"I took some pains to verify, both by observation and the admissions of Southern men, the statements of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.' Most of the results I have already given. I spent less than three months in the Southern States; I saw, of course, comparatively little of slavery. And yet, during this short period, I did see families separated at the auction block; children that were almost white torn from their frantic mothers; beautiful slave girls sold to ugly-looking men; vigorous mulatto women bring high prices on the recommendation that they were 'good breeders'; delicate women flogged by brutal overseers; bloodhounds chained up in their kennels for the avowed purpose of 'hunting up' runaway 'chattels.' And these things are so common—are regarded so much as a matter of course—as to create no surprise or comment. 'An occasional flogging does a nigger good,' remarked a very good-natured and gentlemanly individual to me, one day, on a Mississippi steamboat; 'some can 'get along without it for a long time, while others 'want it every few days. Some niggers seem 'to like it. It does 'em good. They grow fast 'under it. Give a nigger 'nough to eat, and an 'occasional walloping, and he is the most happiest 'creature alive.'

"'What do you think of "Uncle Tom's Cabin?"' I asked a gentleman in New Orleans, and a slaveholder to boot. 'A great work, Sir; 'true, every word. If you remain in New Orleans 'long, you will find out the truth of most of it. 'The fidelity of her portraitures is wonderful. It 'seems to me that she must have repeatedly visited 'the slave-markets and auctions of New Orleans 'to have painted them as she has.' 'But,' I remarked, 'while a great many people admit that there are Legrees in the South, they claim that such characters are only exceptional.' 'Mrs. Stowe,' remarked the gentleman, 'does not intend 'Legree as the type of a *class* of slaveholders; she 'only illustrates through him what *may* and *does* 'sometimes occur under the operation of the slave 'system.'

"One of the largest planters in Louisiana remarked to me: 'Uncle Tom's Cabin, I regret to 'say, is a book that contains a great deal of truth; 'in fact, I don't know but every statement in it 'has its counterpart in every-day life at the South.' 'Have you any Legrees in Louisiana?' I asked. 'Yes, Sir; and you need n't go up the Red River 'to find them either. Slavery tends to make 'naturally vicious men perfect monsters of cruelty. 'Give a bad man absolute control over two or 'three hundred people—make them in all things 'the ministers of his avarice, his lust, or his passions, and there is nothing too monstrous for him 'to do. You have bad men at the North, haven't 'you? Well, human nature is no better here. 'But with you, one man is protected from the 'violence of another by law; on plantations, the 'only law is the master's will. Why, in this very 'parish—not three miles miles from where I live '—is a planter, who, I have the best reason to 'know, *has flogged no less than three negroes to 'death* within the past two years.' 'But is there 'no law to punish such a monster?' 'Certainly; 'but of what use is it? The only witnesses are 'his overseer and his slaves. The one *won't* and 'the other *can't* give testimony against him. So, 'you see, he is above all law.'

"I have received admissions equally frank and liberal from scores of other planters. A few with whom I talked denounced the book as a 'pack of lies.' In fact, I imagine that its truthfulness is what makes it so much dreaded at the South. It is regarded only the more dangerous from the fact that it is so true. During my stay in New Orleans, one of the city papers gravely called attention to the fact that a certain vender of cheap publications had a number of copies of that 'incendiary publication,' Uncle Tom's Cabin, and trusted the authorities would take prompt measures to have the firebrand extinguished!

"While such admissions come from Southern men—while the evils, social and moral, of slavery are so frankly confessed, and sincerely deprecated by those who have been reared amid its influences—while its blighting effects are so abundantly and constantly manifest—is it not enough to disgust one with human nature to find such shallow-pated twaddlers as the Rev. Dr. Adams, of Boston, writing eulogies upon and proclaiming the blessedness of bondage? 'A South-Side View of Slavery,' forsooth! One would imagine, from the sickly lucubrations of this Reverend prattler, that slaveholders were a race of Howards, and slaves all but angels singing praises to the God that gave them so favoured a lot. Said a gentleman to me, in Montgomery, Alabama: 'I have just been reading the book of Dr. Adams. The man is either 'a fool or knave, or both—though I think the fool 'predominates. Why, the man has seen more 'virtue in slavery during the few weeks that he 'was in Georgia—hoped up [illegible] 'pretend that 'slavery is right, down here; we only claim that 'it is the best state of things we can have just 'now. But this holy man no sooner sees the elephant of Slavery than he falls down and worships 'it. What an ass this man must be!'

"I may here add, that I have been frequently met with the taunt, 'Why, it's you Northerners 'that come down South, rake up enough money 'to buy a few niggers, and try to ape Southern 'manners and habits, who become the most noisy 'advocates of slavery. Give a Northern Abolitionist an acre of ground and a nigger, and he 'will swear by all the saints in Heaven that the 'slave system is the *beau ideal* of social perfection. But enough."

OBSERVATIONS OF A NORTHERN TRAVELLER.

Another extract from the editorial correspondence of the *Utica Morning Herald* closes our sad exposition for the present:

"The great fact that is constantly thrusting itself upon the attention of the traveller is slavery. Into whatever place he may chance to go, in whatever society he may chance to mingle, in whatever positions he may chance to be thrown, its spirit is manifest and its influence felt. He can no more avoid its presence—he can no more prevent daily and hourly contact with it—he can no more eliminate himself from its associations, than if he were a part and parcel of it himself. Whether on steamboats, railroad cars, or hotels—whether in town or country—whether in the midst of friends or strangers—it rises ever grimly and frowningly before him. Its vastness—its aggressive spirit—its disregard of social and political rights—its passion for domination—its haughty arrogance—its impatience of restraint—its reckless use of means to reach its ends—its insulting pride—its lust for dominion and its contempt for all other social systems—these are its manifestations, daily and hourly thrust upon the eye and the heart of the stranger.

"Politically and socially, slavery seems to me almost a pure curse. Its desolating, withering, corrupting influences, are everywhere and at all [illegible]. It has stamped its blight even upon the earth which God dedicated to the sustenance of man. She yields reluctantly the fruits of harvest time, and the seed of the husbandman refuses to take root. In the older slave States [illegible] in Virginia, in Georgia, in North [illegible]. It is in vain that the ground is broken, the seed sown, and the tender cotton-plant nursed with anxious care. Jaded and worn-out nature at last turns rebel and refuses further effort. The sterility of the soil drives North Carolina into turpentine-making, and Virginia, the 'mother of Presidents' and the pride of the infant confederation, into *negro-stock raising.* Virginia cannot live without Louisiana and Texas; for where shall she find market for her tens of thousands of slaves transported every year? And how shall Texas stock her plantations without Virginia? The reciprocal tie which binds the Northern slave States to the Southern is a direct *necessity*, from the character of the slave system. Slavery exhausts without replenishing the soil. The longer it exists in a given locality, the less able it is to sustain itself from the resources of that locality. It is inimical to manufactures, and is the foe of everything like healthy enterprise. It can only perpetuate itself, therefore, *by reproducing itself*, and creating other wants for the fruits of such production. The more slave territory there is added, the greater will be the demand, and the better the prices paid for Virginia and Carolina negroes. The annexation of Texas, the passage of the Compromise Measures, and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise have had the effect to advance at least one-third the price of slave-property. So that by these beneficent and righteous acts, obedience to which is so loudly proclaimed by Northern doughfaces, Virginia and Georgia will be enriched by millions. The demand for chattels has and will be increased threefold. Good 'breeders' will be in greater demand than ever. The injunction to 'multiply and increase'—*niggers*—will be obeyed with a zealous alacrity, since lust and profit lie in the same direction. Few planters will care to vex the unwilling earth as long as nigger-raising is so much less laborious and more profitable.

"This fact furnishes the key to the extraordinary zeal of the older slave States in behalf of slavery extension. It has been a subject of marvel why such States as Virginia and Maryland are so much fiercer advocates of the "Institution" now than formerly. The vulgar explanation is that the Abolitionists have wrought this mischief, and that to their officious intermeddling we are indebted to the continued perpetuation of slavery in the Northern slave States. Preposterous notion! Virginia was infinitely more interested in introducing slavery into Kansas and Nebraska than Louisiana, for it opened a new source of life to her in her decrepitude; so that while her Representatives voted unanimously *for* the repeal of the Missouri restoration, the foremost and ablest member of the latter voted *against* it, and with the approbation of his constituents. The rankest defenders of the Slave Power in Congress are not from Louisiana and Texas, but from Virginia, Georgia and the Carolinas. While Bell and Houston have substantially stood by the North, Badger and Toombs have been the leading champions of slave aggression.

"So that slavery never advances politically any more than morally, but is retrograding forever and ever. The longer it exists, the more it shuns and the further it recedes from the light. Its tendency is toward barbarism, and its influences are *all* inimical to Republicanism, to intelligence, to Christianity, and to civilization. It never grows better by growing old; but rather increases in wickedness with age, and intrenches itself behind the desolating wrecks it has made. The abolition of slavery in Texas, Alabama or Louisiana would be infinitely more easily accomplished to-day, than in Virginia or Georgia. It is folly to talk of arguing, coaxing or frightening the slave-breeding States into emancipation. It is only when the *source* of their present prosperity is cut off by *hedging in slavery with impassible barriers*, and thus curtailing the *demand* for negro-breeding, that the lust of slavery can be overcome in them. Let slavery cease to be a source of profit—let the supply of slave-labour be so much greater than the demand as to make the rising generation of "chattels" a burden upon the planter—and he will talk about emancipation, and act upon it, too, with a will.

"The blight of slavery is stamped upon everything within its dominions. Labour is looked upon as disgraceful. The poor white man is hardly a grade above the slave in intelligence, and often below him in point of physical comfort. An imperial and dissolute aristocracy rules with a high and undisputed hand. It looks down with equal hauteur and equal contempt upon the toiling freeman and the toiling slave. It makes no discrimination in treatment or show of respect betwen labour wrought by chattel and labour wrought by free hands. The haughty South Carolinian regards his overseer even as only a 'chattel' of a more comprehensive and exquisite make. The Louisiana sugar-planter maintains no more familiar *social* intercourse with his overseer, his engineer, or his sugar-maker, than he does with Sambo, whom he bought a week ago for a thousand dollars. An overseer may live years on a plantation, and never exchange a dozen words with the family of his employer. Said a planter to me, 'Overseers in a little while get to be almost as bad as niggers. By being constantly *over* and among the latter, they are apt to become hardened and brutal.' Another planter remarked: 'Planters do not *associate* with mechanics, nor is there any *social* intercourse between the families of the two; not so much, I suppose, because the planters feel above it, but because mechanics, as a class, *are so ignorant and degraded.*' He did not stop to tell me that one of the *causes* of the ignorance of the latter was the overbearing exclusiveness of the former. Man is a social being. Society of some kind he must and will have. If he have few equals, and *cannot* mingle with his superiors (socially), he will *descend* among his inferiors. It is no uncommon thing to find degraded white men, in the South, mingling familiarly with the blacks.

If this policy be submitted to much longer, the great Republic of America, instead of being what it ought to be, a mighty propagandist of liberal principles, will commit political suicide and betray the cause of Republicanism and social progress. The popular mind of Europe will be excited against the false Republic, and a universal desire will be felt to stop its barbarous course. There will be European crusades against the American slave-owners instead of American crusades against European despotism.

In most, if not all, of the slave States, not only do the laws prohibit the education of slaves, but great efforts are also made to keep the free coloured people in ignorance and poverty, and then their enforced degradation is made an excuse for the continuance of slavery.

It is necessary for those who live by their labour to insist that there shall be no forced labour—that all labour shall be paid for. Nor would the slave-owners be losers by emancipation, for their lands, which are now saleable only at very low prices, would be enhanced in value if the purchaser were not compelled, as he is now, to invest great sums in the purchase of labourers.

Washington, Jefferson and Franklin desired emancipation by legislative action. Their opinions are now repudiated by Southern politicians, who revile and abuse and would, if they could, exterminate all who now entertain them.

The aristocracy of the South control the nominations to office in all the slave States, and the mass of the people there have only the choice at elections of one of two sets of office-seekers, all of whom are aware that it is the active and influential few, the slave-owners, who are masters of the primary assemblies, the pulpit, the press, and the halls of legislation. Hence, on the questions affecting slavery, the South is a unit, whilst at the North there can always be found a sufficient number of office-seekers, lickspittles and lovers of tyranny to side with the South. The North has an overwhelming preponderance in numbers, intelligence and wealth, and yet it is perfectly subordinated to the politicians of the South. The North will be called upon, if the Union continues, to suppress insurrections, not only of the slaves in the South, but also of the poor whites, impoverished, degraded and trampled upon by the aristocracy. The North must also fight the battles of the South in Cuba, St. Domingo, Mexico, &c., against the fleets and armies of Europe, all for the purpose of extending slavery and the slave trade. Never, whilst the Union lasts, will the freemen of the North have the opportunity of rendering any assistance to the oppressed nationalities of Europe, but, on the contrary, they will be compelled to sustain the policy of Russia, if she proves successful in the present struggle.

The little slave State Delaware has as much real influence in the councils of the nation as the great free State of New York, for it is the Senate which actually governs, and in that body Delaware has as many representatives as New York.

The representative principle is violated by this anomaly, by virtue of which the thinly populated, poverty-stricken and semi-barbarous slave States are put on a footing of equality with the free States, and, at the same time, the republican principle is negatived by the existence of enormous power in the hands of one man, the President, who is independent of the Legislature, and who commits acts of hostility, in foreign countries, at his own mere will and pleasure.

The great question now is, what should be done to remedy this state of things; for it is clear that, whilst it continues to exist, no efforts will be made to ameliorate the condition of the working classes or to aid the struggling people of Europe, but that, on the contrary, Republicanism will be subverted and military despotism established in its ruins.

We must no longer remain on the defensive, but must make vigorous assaults on the enemy. The public mind should be prepared for the establishment of a thorough Radical Republican Constitution, under which the spirit of freedom shall reign instead of the malevolent spirit of slave-owning aristocracy. If we deprive this class of its influence over the Government, the no-slaveholding citizens of the slave States will soon be able to release themselves from the trammels which now restrain them, and will insist upon the emancipation of the slaves, so that no labour shall be had without being paid for. Politicians who are now eager advocates of slavery, in order to earn the favour of the dispensers of power and patronage, will be equally zealous in support of liberty when the General Government is controlled by the Radicals.

If the politicians of the South will not submit to an amendment of the Constitution which shall have the effect of placing the Government entirely in the hands of the numbers, wealth and intelligence of the nation, the only alternative will be the establishment of a Confederacy of the free States, and care should be taken to form a Constitution radically republican. The present Constitution is not founded on principles, but upon compromises, by which liberty, republicanism and the representative principle are ignored and set aside.

The slavery propagandists will drag the nation again into wars, as they have done once already, to serve their own vile purposes. The lovers of freedom may then find their opportunity and insist upon being released from the clutches of the Southern aristocracy. In the meantime, hostility to that aristocracy and to the extension of its power should be encouraged in every possible form.

[illegible] law or Congress which prohibited slavery in the territory north of 36° 30′ having been repealed by the infamous Nebraska bill, slave-owners will take their slaves into that territory; and, as the rich are very apt to desire to have domestic servants and farm hands who can be forced to remain in their service, and to whom no wages are paid, we shall be sure to see slave States springing up in Kansas, Nebraska, &c. The evil example will spread, and we shall find a few slave-drivers controlling the politics of these States, just as they do in Maryland and Delaware, where there are but few slaves and only a handful of slave-owners. Indeed, a hundred men distinguished for their wealth and social position, and acting vigorously together, through a common interest, have more influence over the government of a State than a hundred thousand labourers and mechanics.

In a word, it is too clear that we cannot maintain the contest with the Slavocracy under the existing Constitution. Their progress and absolute dominion has been steady and unwavering, and invariably successful. The true course is to contend for an amendment of the Constitution, or, if that cannot be done so as to free the North from all responsibility for slavery, a separation from the slave States.

The free States derive neither strength nor honour, nor profit, from their political connection with the slave States, but, on the contrary, that connection is a source of weakness. In a military point of view even, it covers the free States with disgrace, and it causes them to be subjected to a foreign and domestic policy prejudicial, in the highest degree, to their interests.

When the Union was formed, it was necessary for the purpose of self-defence. Moreover, at that time, all the leading statesmen were Abolitionists. Washington and Jefferson repeatedly advised general emancipation. Franklin was President of the Philadelphia Abolition Society. Jefferson originated the Ordinance of 1787, which prohibited [illegible] then belonging to the Confederacy to the north-west of the river Ohio. All parties then contemplated the speedy abolition of slavery. Now the case is entirely altered. The free States are strong enough to sustain themselves against foreign enemies; they do not need the support of the slave States, but the connection with them is highly dangerous. At the same time, the policy of the Southern aristocracy has been reversed. For some years past, they have refused to allow a free State to come into the Union without a slave State to counterbalance it, and they have resolved to be, and have been, masters of the Government. Slavery has been established in vast territories which have been conquered or purchased with the blood and treasure of the free States. The Union is propagandist, it is true. But it propagates and establishes the principles of despotism, and plants an odious aristocracy, instead of advocating and advancing republicanism and the cause of human progress. The welfare of the working classes is never regarded by those who control the Government of the Union, but all their efforts are directed to the aggrandizement of slave-owners and the fortification of their power. The Federal Government exercises a most pernicious influence upon the several States. The popular leaders are seduced and cajoled into the support of slavery, and the great conspiracy against freedom and progress is making rapid strides towards the achievement of its diabolical object.

It is time for the people of the free States to wake up from their delusion respecting the Union. If they examine the subject coolly and dispassionately, they will find that the Union of the slave States with the free States is not only not necessary, but that it is destructive of good government in the free States, and must ultimately effect their ruin.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 24, 1855.

THE UNION vs. THE WORKING MAN.

Public discussion on the subject of slavery is prohibited by the laws and usages of the slave States, under the false pretext that the slaves might be incited to rebellion. It is not a rebellion of slaves that is feared, but the rebellion of the poorer classes of citizens, who do not own slaves. It is feared that these citizens [illegible] the authority of the aristocracy. Not one white man in half a dozen in the slave States has any interest in slaves; and there can be no doubt that if the poor whites in the slave States were made acquainted with the effects of slavery upon their own condition, they would insist upon emancipation. Hence the hostility of the slave-owning aristocracy and their tools to the circulation of newspapers and tracts, which show the poor working-man of the South how he is victimized by the "peculiar institution."

When an aristocracy, in any country, can command labour without paying for it, the condition of the poor citizen there must soon become deplorable indeed. The evil has been in some measure avoided hitherto, in the South, by emigration, great numbers of poor whites having passed over from the slave to the free States. But when manufactories are established in the South, and the slaves are the operators and mechanics, the free white labourers will be in direct antagonism with the aristocracy, and the latter will insist upon a high property qualification for electors and a strong government, which, as it must, from the nature of the thing, be upheld by a large military force, will result speedily in a military despotism, and perhaps in a monarchy.

If Republicanism is not to be abolished in America, we must wrest the government out of the hands of the slaveholding aristocracy. They are the enemies of progress and popular rights all over the world. They sympathize with the serf-owners of Russia and with despots and despotism everywhere. They hate and despise the down-trodden people of Europe, and would readily assist to tighten their chains.

The whole power of the Government of the United States is now used for the purpose of extending and perpetuating slavery, so that the aristocracy of the South may obtain the supreme and permanent control at Washington.

A TIMELY WARNING.

That immensely important personage—the very embodiment of self-conceit, pomposity and bombast—the Rev. Samuel Hanson Cox, D.D., has been astonishing the people of St. Louis, of late, by the display of those brilliant qualities which have earned for him a peerless reputation as a pulpit "Swell." We believe it is about a year since (to the great grief of sundry flats who had mistaken his windy and shallow wordiness for the very profundity of wisdom) he relinquished the care of his flock in Brooklyn, and, upon the plea of ill health, retired to his *otium cum dignitate*, near Owego. The religious journals and the daily organs of Cotton Divinity dismissed him from public life with lachrymal demonstrations of the most touching character. A great light was about to be hid under a bushel! a sage, whose wisdom had been as a lamp unto the feet of many a lost and weary traveller, was going into sudden retirement! Alas! how would the world be able to meet the shock of his withdrawal? It *did* stand it, however, with surprising equanimity. For months, the Doctor was scarcely heard of, and yet, either from the momentum imparted by his former labours, or from some other equally potent cause, the tide of affairs moved on with no perceptible change.

But this state of things could not last. However the world might bear it, to the Doctor himself it was unendurable. The muddy waters of garrulity, thus suddenly checked, spread out in wide accumulation, demanding an outlet. A meddlesome and fussy vanity could not long endure the shade. The Doctor must needs emerge to the public view; *somewhere* there must be found a market for his accumulated cant and wish-wash. He concluded to inflict himself once more upon New York. The aid of the religious and secular press was invoked to herald his advance. Puff! puff! puff! Newspaper columns glowed with descriptions of [illegible] eminent qualifications for unfolding the complicated problems of History! The Doctor had the accumulated wisdom of ages—there was not the slightest doubt of it—at his tongue's end, and he would make it all plain to the commonest apprehension in one course of lectures! Thus announced, he came; but—alas for the vanity of all earthly anticipations and pursuits!—though the balloon was inflated exactly as set down in the bills, the seats provided for spectators being empty, it did not go up! New York had become strangely indifferent to such exhibitions. The only lectures that would *draw* were those which agitated the hateful subject of Abolition!

This perversity of the popular taste so disgusted the learned Doctor, that he at once took his flight to St. Louis, where he hoped to find, in the congenial atmosphere of slavery, that appreciation which no amount of puffing had been able to secure for him in New York. His companion upon the voyage was Dr. Adams's "South-Side View." As he turned over the pages of that luminous work, a happy thought suggested itself. In order to commend himself to popular favour in St. Louis, he would address a letter to the author, through the press of that city, exalting his book as the perfection of wisdom in respect to slavery, glorifying the Union afresh, and giving the Abolitionists a whole broadside of patriotic denunciation! The experiment was tried, and the effect justified his anticipations. That letter made him the lion of St. Louis for a month or thereabouts. His lectures on History were attended by admiring crowds, pulpit doors opened wide to receive him, the press dwelt upon his virtues with wordy unction. In short, *the balloon went up* this time, greeted by the shouts of a wonder-struck multitude. How the Doctor enjoyed himself we need not say. With what a self-important air he [illegible] written to his eastern friends testify. In the enthusiasm of the moment, he fancied himself the earthly leader and head of the Presbyterian Church, and, remembering that the General Assembly would hold its next session at St. Louis he seized the occasion for issuing his imperial ukase, warning the Church, as she valued her character and her peace, to permit "no stray goat of an Abolitionist" to be elected to that body. His proclamation was embodied in a characteristic letter to the *New York Evangelist*, and thus it runs:

"The people here are expecting the General Assembly, next May, with increasing interest and satisfaction. It ought to be anticipated by all our Presbyteries with large-hearted and appropriate wisdom. They will certainly do great good—or, great harm, by meeting at St. Louis. The reasons are many and mighty. Of this I would affectionately warn all the Presbyteries. If a Presbytery has any member in it that is only goodish and weak-minded; impulsive, and not at all comprehensive, or well experienced, or rightly informed; or, if he be partisan, emotional, and destitute of knowledge and good manners; or, if he be a theorizer, an abstractionist, or a philosopher of one idea; or, if obstinate, or unanimous in self esteem only; then I say, for the sake of all the ends that Paul would pursue and prefer, or which the *wisdom* that is *profitable to direct* would inspire, give him an impartial furlough to stay at home; and consult his honour and usefulness and fame and peace, by putting a wise man, instead of him, as a commissioner to the General Assembly of 1855. Some may despise this counsel—still I soberly give it, loving the Church at large and our own branch of it in particular—and loving also many dear brethren who differ from me, possibly, in these things. I do not want to see the General Assembly act at all out of character, or against the Constitution, or in any with no or with little wisdom. And this city is full of noble-minded and principled persons, who will watch them; and take impressions for after ages from what they see, and hear, and feel, of the wisdom of the Assembly. Our dear brethren in the ministry here, good and true, are much interested, all of them, to show excellence alone of truth and order, in all the collective and individual actions of our beloved Assembly. Otherwise, we shall only injure them, and counteract our own prayers, through our preposterous zeal, that is *not according to knowledge.* I mean, as every reader knows, in reference to the matter of slavery; but NOT AT ALL ON THAT ALONE. Let all the pastors and all the churches pray that the Holy Ghost may fill all the members with *the wisdom that cometh from above*; and then all will be right. This is the epitome of all my prayer for them, to the Great Head of the Church. We have some enemies—beside *the devil and his angels*; some that ought to be at better business! and some whose titles, offices, and places, might make the simple too easily mistake them for friends. *Sed. sap. sat. verb. et. præterea-non-nihil.*"

We infer, from this voice of warning, that the managers of the New School Presbyterian Church are fearful that the "volcano," which they "capped" with so much difficulty some years ago, is about to burst forth again and bury them in its fiery eructations. They have taken care that the General Assembly, at this crisis, shall meet in a slaveholding city, where a foul moral atmosphere will aid them to smother the spirit of freedom and choke the utterance of those who desire to cure the Church of her deadly leprosy. We shall see how well they succeed.

Margaret Marriott Hyatt.—The death of this excellent woman which occurred on the 14th ult., is thus noticed in a letter we have just received from A. M. Powell, who knew her well:

"Mrs. Hyatt was a woman possessed of moral and intellectual endowments of great excellence. As an Abolitionist, she was devoted, earnest and uncompromising. The *Liberator* and *Standard* have been her regular visitors for many years. She deeply sympathized with her brother Charles Marriott at the time of his sufferings and cruel persecution by the New York Yearly Meeting of Friends, on account of his active cooperation with the American Anti-Slavery Society; and since that period, although born and educated a member of the Society of Friends, she has faithfully protested against their pro-slavery and partizan spirit, by her words and works, and by refusing to cooperate with them, except as she attended their public meetings. She was a warm friend and an ardent admirer of William Lloyd Garrison and George Thompson, whose names and sentiments were often upon her lips. I mourn her loss as an esteemed personal friend, and in behalf of the bleeding slave, also in behalf of the orphans and friendless, to whom she was as a mother and a friend."

Congressional Globe.—We have received, under the frank of the Hon. Charles Sumner, the *Congressional Globe and Appendix*, from Dec. 1853 to Aug. 1854, containing a full report of the proceedings and debates of the XXXIII Congress, first session, the laws enacted, and the various official documents from the Executive Department, &c. Each of these volumes is furnished with a copious index, making it easy to refer promptly to any matter on which light may be needed. Mr. Sumner will please accept our thanks for this addition to our editorial library.

Cambridge Law School.—We learn from the Boston *Telegraph* that the discussion of the case of Judge Loring is not confined to the newspapers. It has gone into the Law School at Cambridge. The Southern students in that institution, it seems, introduced into the Parliament, as the Debating Club is called, a series of resolutions complimenting Judge Loring, and denouncing the Overseers for removing "so efficient an instructor, whose urbane demeanour," &c., &c.

At the meeting of the Parliament on the evening of March 9, these resolutions were voted down. At the next meeting, Friday evening, March 16, they were introduced, slightly modified. A heated debate ensued, which was terminated by the janitor of the building who turned off the gas, and left the excited young gentlemen to the soothing and sedative influence of total darkness.

ANTI-SLAVERY SALE IN BOSTON.

The friends and patrons of the recent National Anti-Slavery Bazaar will recollect the great disappointment experienced by themselves, as well as its Managers, on account of the non-arrival of the very large collections of expensive and elegant articles that were on their way from London, Edinburgh, Perth, and some other places. This mischance was occasioned by the withdrawal of several of the Cunard steamships for the use of the Government; and it was not till several weeks after the Bazaar closed, that the missing boxes arrived at their destination. On examination, their contents were found to be so abundant and attractive, that the Managers judged it best to hold a special sale, made up entirely of the new articles. This was done on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, the 14th, 15th and 16th of March, in one of the halls occupied at the time of the Bazaar; and though it was hardly possible that the weather could have been more unpropitious, the result exceeded our most sanguine expectation—the receipts amounting to $614.57. As the attendant expenses must be comparatively small, we cannot but feel that a circumstance, which was at first extremely annoying, has, in the end, been productive of pecuniary benefit to the Good Cause. We trust that the statement of this fact will be accepted by the dear friends sending these boxes, as some compensation for the vexation and disappointment attendant on their delay, as it certainly was by us for any labour and fatigue consequent on this fresh exertion.

The collection from Edinburgh was never larger or handsomer, and was never, it appeared to us, so well chosen as respects saleableness and variety. We must mention a few articles that were particularly acceptable. A very magnificent piece of Embroidery, by Miss Murray, and sent through Mrs. George Combe, attracted universal admiration. It represented a scene from Scott's novel of 'Woodstock,' the duel between Charles and Everard; and so remarkable was its execution, that one could hardly believe it needlework, and not painting. It was not sold, but will be retained for exhibition at the next Bazaar. A very large collection of pretty basket-work, from Mrs. Jeandin, sold very readily, more so, perhaps, than it would have done, had it been of a higher-priced description. Its utility, as well as its beauty, recommended it to purchasers. A satin-wood Reading Stand was esteemed a very tasteful contribution, and soon vonished from the Table, as did the exquisite basket of Wax Fruit presented by Mrs. Capt. Wardlaw, and which reached us with hardly a grape bruised. The beautiful blue and white Shawls were sold at once, and more could have been disposed of, the approach of Spring rendering them more saleable, perhaps, than at an earlier period. The Affghan Blankets and Embroidered Table Covers were also highly prized; the Crotchet Tidies, Sofa Covers and Doyleys likewise. Indeed, our supply of the latter sort of work, great as it was, hardly equalled the demand.

We wish it were in our power to return our warmest thanks to the Edinburgh donors individually, but as we cannot do this, we trust it will not be deemed impertinent if we mention Jane and Eliza Wigham, Henry Wigham, Mrs. McLaren, the lady of the Lord Provost, Mrs. Berry, of Portobello, Mrs. Buchannan, Mr. and Mrs. Inglis, Mrs. Alexander, Mrs. Dr. Guthrie, Misses Rae and Kerr, and Mrs. McLean, as friends to whom the slave and his advocates owe a deep debt of gratitude.

Among the many attractions of the Edinburgh box, one of the greatest was its collection of very valuable autographs. We are greatly obliged to Mr. Adam Black, the publisher of the *Edinburgh Review*, for his kindness. Many of the autographs were sold at excellent prices. We are also much obliged to Dr. Payne, of Nottingham, for his volume of poetical Delineations, as well as many other articles, and to Jane Abbott for a very nice collection from Bolton and Preston, and to Ann Fletcher, of Leigh, Lancashire, to Elizabeth Palmer of Reading, and Mary Worsdell, Crewe, Cheshire, for many very pretty and saleable articles of ladies' fancy work. A few articles of needlework were sent by a lady of Leeds [illegible] entering her hundredth year.

We have alluded to the above named gifts, in connection with the Edinburgh box, as they were received through it. The parcels enclosed in the same for individuals have been received and forwarded.

We regret to learn that sickness and sorrow have been busy among our Perth friends, and that owing to these circumstances, their exertions were not commensurate with their wishes. We sympathize with them most truly, and trust that all whom pain and bereavement have precluded from active exertion, will find effectual consolation in the remembrance of former labours, and the blessing promised to him who only "*considereth* the poor."

Notwithstanding the bereavements to which the communications of our Perth friends alluded, we are able to make mention of many very valuable and saleable donations. The Footstools, Campstools and Sofacushions, were highly esteemed, and were sold at good prices. Nothing in the whole collection was more acceptable than the very nice Damask Tablecloth, which found an immediate purchaser. Anything of the kind is sure to command a sale. A very handsome shawl-pin, valued at eight dollars, some elegant embroidery, and a variety of small tasteful articles, were also included in the Perth collection. We beg the Ladies of the Fair City to believe that we fully appreciate all their labours, none the less so that we know them better by these than by their names. A few articles from Criff were received by way of Perth.

The managers have great pleasure in returning their warmest thanks to Mrs. Massie, wife of the Rev. Dr. Massie, of London, for the very beautiful collection, made chiefly through her instrumentality, because they can add to them, what they are aware she will receive as her best reward—the assurance of the complete success that has attended her undertaking. The most valuable part of Mrs. Massie's donation consisted of very beautiful embroidery, made up in the shape of ottomans, sofa cushions, and what the French call *coffres a hois*, but which American ladies would, probably, use as work-boxes. This embroidery, so beautiful as to have been submitted for inspection to the Queen, we were so fortunate as to dispose of at suitable prices, with the exception of one or two articles, which will find a ready sale elsewhere. All the work

CUBA AND THE ADMINISTRATION.....NO. I.

To the Editors of The Anti-Slavery Standard:

THE great measure of robbing Spain of Cuba, which our masters are supposed to have under constant consideration, and more at heart than the salvation of their souls, finds favour with several classes of our fellow-citizens; all, or nearly all of whom, endeavour to conceal their motives under false pretences. Of course, they are conscious that their motives are not fit to be avowed.

1. The slave-generators and human-flesh jobbers of half a dozen ancient and blighted States, intriguing and trading politicians in all the slave States, their puppet at the Capital, and his office-holders and hangers-on, everywhere, so far as they have not despaired and turned fillibusters, which, however, would be no great turn. This is a formidable class. It is the Slave Power proper. It goes for "enlarging the area of freedom."

2. Manifest destinarians and demagogues of all parties and parts. These are not "higher law" men, by any means! yet, they have the modesty to invoke that law to "sanction and sanctify" their schemes of ambition and rapacity. They deny to the will of God the slightest authority to relieve and save the victims of oppression, while they impute to him immutable decrees for increasing them. Devout villains, they preach submission to the higher law in this low sense, calling it "the law of our political existence," "an overruling necessity," no more to be resisted "than the Gulf Stream."

> So spake the fiend, and with necessity,
> The tyrant's plea, excused his devilish ends.

3. Fillibusters. This is the Spanish name for the buccaneers, a confederacy of French, English and Dutch outlaws, who infested the West India Islands and seas, during the Seventeenth Century. The French, who furnished the nucleus of this union, called them *flibustiers*, whence the Spanish, who had nothing to do with them except to fight them, or run away from them, derived *filibusteros*. The word has its roots in two Teutonic primitives, which signify *free-rovers* and *free-plunderers*. The English commonly called them *freebooters*, the name by which they had for some time designated the border robbers, who so harrassed and plundered the north of England, that every town was obliged to maintain men at arms and bloodhounds to guard against their depredations and to track them to their retreats. True to their vocation, many of the freebooters ultimately became West India slaveholders, as at present they desire to do. Having felt the efficiency of bloodhounds in hunting robbers, they now employed them, as we do, in hunting those they had robbed. It is quite probable that the modern Cuban, and our own Southern and *national* hounds, had their origin in the old English precautions against the freebooters.

Of course, these are pirates, pirates by the law of nations and the statutes of the United States, statutes which "reenact the will of God." It is to be apprehended, therefore, that they will not be executed by the present Administration. This is the honestest class that we have yet named.

4. Abolitionists both of the United States and Great Britain, who imagine that the proposed robbery will stop the slave trade to Cuba, ameliorate the condition of the Spanish slaves, and, perhaps, complete the long accumulation of the avalanche, which is to overwhelm American slavery with sudden and awful ruin.

Argument or remonstrance would be wasted on the first class. There is nothing on earth except ballots and bullets which can turn them from their fell purpose, or make them listen for a moment to reason or entreaty. As well go, as Sir Walter Scott said, to the devil and lay our petitions at the foot of his burning throne.

No arguments, *except those which shall have beaten* the first class, will be of any avail with the second. Whenever we shall be able to bring such arguments, whatever they may be, "manifest destiny" will be found as pliable as Michigan putty or New England dough, and, doubtless, will stiffly sustain, "to the fullest extent," any measures we may plan.

But, to friends of the fourth class, we desire to offer a few facts and reflections, which we conceive of vital importance to our cause. We are put painfully to our thoughts, and feel that it is time to speak, when we see the sails of slave-breeding and slave-trading pirates inflated by God-speeds breathed from anti-slavery bosoms! A fact so shocking and incongruous shows that there is fatal error somewhere.

The assertions by which our friends at home, and a class of friendly reformers in Great Britain, attempt to justify their fillibustering position—for such it is, in effect, though not intention—are, that *American slavery is less bad than Spanish*, and, that *there is little or no hope that the slave trade to the island will cease so long as it remains in the present hands.*

We take issue on these allegations, and will undertake to prove, that American slavery is far worse than Spanish, and that the proposed robbery, if successful, will result in establishing and perpetuating a slave trade, not less in extent, and far more inhuman, demoralizing, and, in every respect, pernicious to the human family, than that which now exists.

A difference between the condition of the Spanish and American slave, which must impress the most prejudiced, is, that the former is entitled by law to his freedom, whenever he can tender to his master the price he paid for him; and, even if he can tender but part of it, he becomes entitled to a corresponding part of each week during the remainder of his life. This is an entering wedge, which will soon rive his fetters. If any friend offers him, as a loan or gift, the amount of his ransom, or a part of it, the law takes effect the same as if he had earned it. These laws are strictly enforced. In case of opposition or evasion, the Captain of the Partido or district, an officer invested with both civil and military power, compels submission, and punishes the recusant with exemplary penalties.

This inestimable privilege might prove illusory, if there were no regulation or custom subsidiary to it; but there is. The slave is secure in the possession of his *peculium*. The Civil or Roman law is the common law of Spain. That law was in many respects benignant to the slave. It recognised his natural right to liberty and the natural equality of men. It made legal presumption to favour liberty. It left letters, science and art open to the slave. It protected his peculium, and gave him an action even against his master to recover it. It provided for his transfer, if cruelly treated, to a better master, and compelled his master to manumit him whenever he was able to offer, or a friend offered, for it a reasonable price; of which, in case of disagreement, a magistrate was the judge. Cicero tells us that in his time (not the most favourable to the slave) any sober and industrious slave could obtain his freedom in six years. Manumission was usually a public and solemn act, performed before the highest civil and judicial magistrates; and the badge of freedom bestowed on the occasion was a red cap, called the Phrygian cap. Hence this became, and remains to this day, the favourite emblem of liberty. American democracy has exalted it to the heavens, while it tramples in the dirt him, who, of all men in the world, has the best right to claim it. The colossal caps, which crown the *hickory* poles of the empire city, are a sham, which ought to come down like the helmet of Otranto, though they should hit a Nebraska recreant, or an upper-ten slave-trading pirate.

The Cuban slaves not only have laws and practices thus favouring emancipation, but they have rare opportunities of obtaining the means. They are allowed as much land as they please to cultivate and half of Saturday to work upon it. They raise a great deal of Indian corn, and vegetables for their own consumption and for the market, especially the delicious and wholesome plantain, which is found on the tables of all classes, and there is scarcely an adult slave, male or female, on the island, who is not the owner of a hog, worth from two to three doubloons.

The existence of a free coloured population of over *two hundred thousand* is, of itself, conclusive evidence of the frequency and facility of emancipation. In our slave States, out of a total coloured population of *three and a half millions*, there is but about the same number of free as Cuba furnishes out of a total coloured population of only *one-sixth* of that number. Mr. Wise, a native of that country which is called "the American Guinea," boasts, in his amusing letter to Dr. Adams, of the number which his State has enfranchised, while, with characteristic consistency, he represents freedom as a fatal gift! He boasts of his exploits in arresting slave-traders in Rio Janeiro, and then affirms that the slave-trade is the greatest blessing to the African! After this it is to be hoped that we shall not hear, at least from him, the common and most nauseous protest that he holds his slaves out of kindness to *them*.

The area of Cuba is *one-thirtieth*, or according to the highest estimate, one-twenty-fourth of the area of our slave States, a significant commentary on the murderous fiction that the races cannot live together in peace and freedom. They serve together in the army, navy and military of Cuba, free schools are open to each, and in the Church distinction is absolutely unknown. They are baptized at the same font, they commune together, they worship and are buried side by side. In the Mechanics Institute at Havana, all distinction, except merit, is ignored. The Captain-General, from the vice-regal throne, confers the premiums with as much kindness and respect upon coloured as white. At the public banquet, which concludes the annual exhibition of the products of industry and ingenuity, and to which all the successful competitors are invited, coloured persons of both sexes, with gold medals suspended from their collars, may be seen seated by the side of whites with medals of silver or bronze.

D. L. C.

For the Anti-Slavery Standard.

LECTURES IN NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND.

EDITORS STANDARD: We are sorry that we were not able to notice Mr. Brown's visit here sooner, but a lame hand disqualified us from writing.

Newport is, no doubt, among the last cities of New England that will take hold of anti-slavery. And this is no marvel, when it is recollected that Newport was once remarkable for fitting out slavers and importing slaves. Nevertheless, we rejoice to say, that taking into consideration that this is a fashionable watering-place, having visitors through the season from almost every quarter of the United States, that there is as kind and gentlemanly disposition manifested in Newport toward an intelligent lecturer on anti-slavery as in some other places boasting better things.

Newport seems to have been left as a field for the coloured lecturer—five years since, the Rev. C. W. Gardner lectured here, in mid-day, on the public square, and was well received. In Feb., 1854, Frederick Douglass paid us a visit under the most unfavourable circumstances, as it was intensely cold and stormy; yet, the Court-house was well filled with attentive hearers, and we should say, they were deeply interested in his most excellent address. This winter, J. S. Rock, M.D., of Boston, gave us a lecture embracing the intrepid and intellectual character of the negro race, and the moral evils of American Slavery. The subjects were both interesting and were well handled. Next, we were favoured by Rev. J. W. C. Pennington, D.D. His lecture was calm but well placed, and highly spoken of by those that heard it, and it has done good.

On the 18th of February, we were again cheered by the information that Wm. Wells Brown, Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, was to lecture for us on the 21st, 22d and 23d inst. Our good Sheriff, Wm. Lake, who is always ready to assist any good cause, left nothing to be done that could administer comfort to the hearers or speaker.

At half-past seven o'clock, the Court-house was well filled with [illegible] his connection with the [illegible] with more grace. After the lapse of two hours, it was quite evident that all ears were open to hear and all hearts to sympathize.

At his second lecture we were not able to attend, but, are informed, from good authority, that the speaker carried the people with him; and, that by their repeated applause, they gave unmistakable evidence of the deep interest they felt in the subject.

On the third and last evening, Mr. Brown commenced his lecture with a compendious history of the reforms of the Government of Great Britain for the last 30 years. This was deeply interesting, and we could have wished to hear nothing else for the evening. But the speaker soon entered upon the subject of slavery, and the audience were deeply impressed with his eloquence and power, and convinced that talent, refinement and cultivation were confined to no colour.

Mr. Brown was happily disappointed, and most feelingly expressed his sense of the kind reception he met. A unanimous vote of thanks was returned to him for his addresses, and a collection was taken up for the Society. Had we asked for a vote of invitation to him to return, at a future day, it would, we are persuaded, have been freely given. We hope the Society will favour us with another visit from this Agent, William Wells Brown.

We do not wish to be understood, that we think that Newport is entirely regenerated. There are those who have not heard those speakers—those persons who never attend lectures in the Court-house, and editors who never notice the merits of an anti-slavery lecture, nor the intelligence of a coloured lecturer. But, we hope, ere long, to be able to accommodate them with comfortable seats in some one of our sacred edifices. But, on this part of the subject we must not be too sanguine, as we are a very religious community.

D.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY TRACTS.

FIVE numbers of the Series of Tracts proposed to be issued by the American Anti-Slavery Society have been already published, as follows: 1. The United States Constitution. 2. White Slavery in the United States. 3. Colonization. 4. Does Slavery Christianize the Negro? 5. The Inter-State Slave Trade. Five others are ready for stereotyping, and will be issued as soon as circumstances will permit. The one upon the Inter-State Slave Trade is from the pen of Hon. John G. Palfrey.

We would again say to all friends in New-England who desire tracts for gratuitous distribution, that the least expensive way of procuring them is to call at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill, Boston, in person, or to request friends coming from their respective towns to do so. Where no opportunity of the kind easily occurs, those in charge of the office will endeavour to supply all applications by sending by express. In sending orders for tracts, please name the number of each kind wanted, and give full particulars of names of persons and places.

Residents in the States of New York, New Jersey, &c., will do best to send to the New York Anti-Slavery Office, No. 138 Nassau street.

Residents in Pennsylvania, Delaware, &c., should send to the Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Office, No. 31 North-Fifth street.

CHIVALRY OUT OF ITS LATITUDE.—A Southerner, stopping at the Irving House, attacked "Henry," the coloured boot-black of the establishment, on Tuesday last, with a huge bowie-knife. The assailed party defended himself with a coal-scuttle, but for which he would probably have lost his life. The chivalrous Southerner found, to his astonishment, that coloured men in New York are not outlaws, at the mercy of any white vagabond who chooses to assail them. He was escorted to the Tombs for safe keeping.

Our Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, March 18, 1955.

MESSRS. EDITORS: I am not one of those who expect any beneficial results to the cause of Freedom from the action of the American, or Know-Nothing party. The animus of that party is too essentially pro-slavery to throw its influence in favour of the Anti-Slavery cause.

The man that is mean enough to deprive his brother of the privileges he enjoys himself, because he was born in a foreign land, or is of the Catholic religion, is mean enough to hold slaves if he had the opportunity, and it paid to do so.

I know it is said that Know-Nothingism will break up the old parties, and that is something done for Freedom. This is not certain, however, unless there is an anti-slavery party substituted for the old ones. It can surely be shown that the claim of an anti-slavery character for Know-Nothingism is entirely groundless. The two things are at utter variance. It might be said, with as much truth, that the Whig and Democratic parties are anti-slavery, for there are professed Abolitionists in these parties, as well as in the former. Here lies the great danger to the Anti-Slavery cause.

In the old parties, the issues that formerly claimed the attention of the people having become obsolete, the anti-slavery element was enabled to make itself felt in the action of both parties to a greater or less degree.

For the past few years, there has not been a Whig or Democratic conclave held in any part of the country, into which this question has not forced itself, compelling politicians to notice it, in such a way as to leave no doubt that they considered it a vital question, which must be met, and upon which there could be no neutrality. Hence, of a necessity, they were driven to take sides. And those among them who felt that they could not retain their self-respect and remain in the old parties, with others who were tired of acting with a large organization in which they were always in the minority, cut the brace which bound them and formed a new party, the animating principle of which was declared to be opposition to slavery and its aggressions. This was well. The new politicians went as far as men acting under the Constitution could go. Anti-Slavery men of all kinds congratulated themselves upon what they considered the beginning of a political party, which, in a few years, might convince the South that there was a North. But, alas! for the hopes of those who put the *smallest* faith in politicians. They are sure to be blasted. In this case it was like building a house upon the sand, the winds of Know-Nothingism beat upon it, and carried it away.

The excitement that followed the perpetration of the Nebraska villany was unprecedented in the history of political anti-slavery. The opposition to the measure was greater, and more general in its extent, than had ever been shown toward any other aggression of the Slave Power. There were many reasons for this. One was, it followed so close upon the heels of the Compromise Measures that men could not fail to see the verifications of the predictions made at that time, that the Fugitive Act, with its accompanying abominations, was but the precursor of greater outrages on the part of Southern Oligarchists and their Northern allies. Another reason was, the Nebraska bill was a Democratic measure, and, therefore, the Whigs must oppose it, as their only chance of coming into power. Still another cause of the opposition was, the indignation created in the minds of the people at the villanies committed in Boston and Wisconsin, by the slaveholders and their tools. Many persons were led to the belief, in consequence of the almost universal excitement, that we were about to have a Northern party, which would send only such Representatives to Congress as were pledged to consider opposition to slavery as of paramount importance to every other issue.

Just as things had arrived at this favourable [illegible] slavery question, Know-Nothingism came sweeping over the land; and, like Aaron's Rod, swallowed up all political action on the subject of slavery, in its hatred of foreigners and Catholics.

I have said that the great danger to be apprehended from "Americanism" to the anti-slavery cause is, that professed Abolitionists in the organization claim for it an anti-slavery character, because they, and others like them, are members of it. Let us see what foundation there is for such an assumption. Every Abolitionist will admit that, upon the slavery question, there is no neutral ground. Now, does Know-Nothingism occupy a clear and well-defined anti-slavery position? On the contrary, as a body, does it not shirk all responsibility in the premises? As an answer to these questions, we need nothing more than the testimony of Gen. Wilson, who has been shorn of half his strength, by his connection with a party that is *second only in meanness* to the pro-slavery party of the country. He says (in his speech, published in your paper last week), "As to the organization of the American party, in some sections it has had influence in favour of Freedom, in other sections it has been hostile to freedom." So we are left to conclude that, if Slave-Catching Curtis had been a Know-Nothing, and Mr. Wilson had not, the former would have been elected to the Senate instead of the latter.

But, this is not the only reason (though it is sufficient) to induce the Abolitionists to oppose the new party. This new association does not contain a single element of permanency. It is founded upon a prejudice, as ignorant as it is wicked; and, therefore, it must vanish, like mists of the morning, before the returning good sense and enlightenment of the people. But, before this may come to pass, no matter how short the period, there will be an incalculable injury done to the cause of Freedom. Every one remembers the consequences of the abortive attempt to elect J. G. Birney to the Presidency, in '44. As long as he and his partisans were fed up with the idea of success, they clung together; but so soon as they were made to feel the completeness of the failure, their enthusiasm oozed out; and many returned to wallow in the mire of political corruption; others fell into a state of luke-warmness, and ever after proved dead weight upon the anti-slavery cause. A few only of the once hopeful band remained true to their principles in adversity. So will it be with the American party; except that, as its objects are *infamous*, its destruction shall be complete. After the excitement created by the first successes attendant upon the advent of this new party shall have subsided, and the people have time to think, they will see the shallowness of its pretensions, and the first defeat that occurs will scatter it to the winds. What then will become of those who entered into this party expecting to accomplish something for Liberty? Will it not be the most natural thing for them, after failing in their attempts to secure anything under the auspices of Americanism, to fall back into the old party traces, which will, doubtless, stand ready to receive them. Holding the opinion that I do of the new party's principles, I hardly think it possible for a man to go through the mill of Know-Nothingism and come out qualified to make the sacrifices necessary to the liberation of the slave.

Even as Evangelical Christians attribute all the evil things that occur in the world to the machinations of his Satanic Majesty, so do I trace political wickedness in this country to the operations of his children on earth, the slaveholders of the South, and their pimps at the North. Thus, although, ostensibly, this secret Society had its origin in a Northern City, I, nevertheless, believe it to be a scheme of Southern concoction, for the purpose of drawing the attention of the North from the consideration of Slavery. No one but a man who considered the right of a master to hold his slave a well-settled American principle, could have conceived the idea of clothing prejudices so mean and vulgar as those of Know-Nothingism, with the specious title of "Americanism." As Wamba the Witless in the story of Ivanhoe, when he went in the disguise of a Monk to rescue his master from the castle, replied "PAX Vobiscum" to every question that was asked him, so do the members of the Know-Nothing Party endeavour to conceal their absurdities and corruptions under the words "Americanism," or "American principles." In their case, however, the disguise is not as perfect as it was with their ancient brother.

Messrs. Hale, Wilson and others, can see the sinfulness of a Northern Religious body remaining in connection with churches of the South, but are not able to discover the anomalous position they occupy, by belonging to a party which (not to say that it originated in the South) is in full union and fellowship with slaveholders.

It is related of Sancho Panza, that when he was despatched by the good Don with a message to the Lady Dulcinea, not having much faith in the existence of her ladyship, upon meeting an ordinary country wench he returned to his master with the story that she was enchanted. It is also asserted that he repeated the arguments in favour of her enchantment so often, that he at last believed in them himself. So is it with the adherents of Know-Nothingism. They went into the party asserting it to be Anti-Slavery; and, notwithstanding the proof to the contrary, they would fain make us believe that it is so. But in this they will not be quite so successful as was honest Sancho.

A moment's consideration upon the character of the originators and upholders of the American Party, and the manner in which its operations are conducted, is sufficient to convince every man who is not blinded by Religious Bigotry, clanish hatred, or unscrupulous ambition, that nothing is to be expected from it for the advancement of Universal Liberty. The friends of Freedom in Europe might as well expect assistance from the slaveholders of the South, as the Abolitionists from a Society, the actuating principle of which leads to the practical hatred of all men not born on our soil. Think you the men whose prejudices make them hate the *White* man because he is a Foreigner, will not also hate the *Black* man who is oppressed in their own country?

I can see no greater contrast between the "Poole Association" of New York, for the propagation of the "*American Principles*" advocated by that Bully upon his death-bed, and the organization that nominated Simon Cameron for the United States Senate, than there is between Captain Rynders with his rowdy crew, and Lewis Cass, Arnold Douglas and their satellites.

When I commenced this letter it was my intention to have said something upon matters of more immediate local interest, but I have already extended it longer than I intended to, in the discussion of a subject upon which I expressed an opinion, because I feel that there is disposition among some Abolitionists to view with leniency, if not satisfaction, the efforts of the American party to draw attention from Anti-Slavery issues, and, by this means, give the South time to collect her forces and devise new schemes for the support of Slavery and the overthrow of the Liberties of the North.

R.

THE Methodist *Christian Advocate and Journal*, which never permits its readers to see in its columns any exposure of the horrible traffic in human flesh, which is continually going on at the South, with the sanction or connivance of the Methodist Church, published last week, on its editorial page, the following account of a slave auction in the island of Java. It is from a Java paper, and dated Grisee, District of Sourabaya, November 20, 1854.

"Last Wednesday we were witness to a touching scene. In the market-place of Grisee, a slave family, consisting of father, mother, and eight children, from three to fourteen years of age, were to be publicly and unreservedly sold by auction. They had been the property of a deceased Dutch widow lady, who had always treated them with the greatest kindness; thus they were deeply grieved at the separation by tears and sobs.

"The public crier put them up at 6,000 florins. Though a crowd of people had assembled, they kept a profound silence. The crier gradually lowered his price to 2,000 florins, but none would buy. Then the father of the slave family, availing himself of the privilege granted by law to slaves put up to sale at public auction, offered himself five florins, and at the same time throwing himself on his knees, he besought the spectators not to make a higher bid. Not a word was spoken; a silence of a few moments ensued, and the entire family was adjudged to have been unreservedly sold to itself.

"It would be difficult to describe the joy experienced by these slaves on hearing the fall of the hammer which thus gave them their liberty; and this joy was further augmented by the presents given to them by numbers of the spectators, in order that they might be able to obtain a subsistence till such times as they could procure employment. These are the acts of a noble generosity that deserve to be remembered, and which, at the same time, testify that the inhabitants of Java begin to abhor the crying injustice of slavery, and are willing to entertain measures for its abolition."

The Methodist slaveholders of the South, whose cause the *Advocate and Journal* is constantly petifogging, might well take lessons in humanity from the inhabitants of Java. In what Southern State does the law allow a slave father to purchase his family at a nominal price? And what religious sect at the South (to say nothing of those who make no profession of piety) gives the slightest evidence that it "begins to abhor the crying injustice of slavery, and is willing to entertain measure for its abolition"? Nay, which of all the great sects of the North testifies against the wickedness of the system and casts its influence on the side of freedom?

HOW DOUGLAS WAS DEMORALIZED.—Dr. Charles Jewett, the eloquent temperance lecturer, now a constituent of Senator Douglas, in a speech before the Legislative Temperance Society, in Boston, recently, disclosed one of the causes of that Senator's pro-slavery course. "How came he" asked Dr. Jewett, "to do that great wickedness of the Nebraska bill?" And he proceeded to answer the question as follows: "It was because he had been demoralized by drinking habits and drinking companions. He kept his skin full of brandy, and often occupied the platform in addressing his countrymen on great questions of public policy when he was, to say the least—*full* (sensation). Perhaps he was saying something that was not known; but for the assertion he held himself responsible, legally and otherwise. He never would have done that deed had he been a temperance man, if his associations had not been among drinking men. He had got below the plane of sound morality and propriety through drinking habits, and losing his natural regard for right, he was ready and willing for any infamous political deed that needed a helping hand."

Mr. Douglas is by no means the only Northern politician who has been debauched by intemperance and thus prepared to become the tool of the Slave Power. There is no doubt that Webster's drinking habits, by blunting his moral sense and stupefying his great intellect, had much to do with his final and fatal plunge into the abyss of slavery.

SOUTHERN PROPRIETY SHOCKED!—Miss Rebecca Donovan, who has been in Kentucky lately, lecturing on the subject of temperance, has produced a great excitement by kissing a "nigger" baby. If the baby had been her own, and she had sold it by the pound in the human shambles of Kentucky, the people would scarcely have been more shocked than they pretend to be in view of that terrible kiss. Even the newspapers, while acknowledging the value of her labours in the temperance cause, speak with bated breath of that kiss, as if it foreshadowed all the horrors of Abolitionism and the underground railroad! Miss Lucretia Wright, another temperance lecturer, has also fallen under the ban of the rum-loving chivalry of Kentucky, being suspected of entertaining heretical doubts of the divinity of slavery.

AGENT FOR GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

THE Executive Committee of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY have appointed PARKER PILLSBURY to be an Agent of the Society for Great Britain and Ireland, for one year, or so much of that time as he may continue in those countries.

This action was unanimous on the part of the Committee, and was strongly recommended by several of the most intelligent friends of the cause in Great Britain.

We make this announcement with the highest satisfaction. The state of public opinion in Great Britain, on the subject of American Slavery, is such as to promise highly important results from the presence of a representative of American Abolitionists, and especially of one who, like Mr. Pillsbury, is thoroughly acquainted with the history and the workings of the cause at home, and qualified to counteract the efforts of those who are continually labouring to divert British sympathy and British aid from their legitimate channels and make them subservient to some sectarian or sinister end. We are sure that all the friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society will regard the appointment of Mr. Pillsbury as a most fortunate one for the cause, and that, however deeply they may regret that there should be a necessity for his further absence, they will rejoice that the Society is able to secure his services in a field where, perhaps, all things considered, they will be even more effective than they could be at home.

In regard to Mr. Pillsbury's health, we are glad to find the following cheering paragraph in the *Anti-Slavery Advocate* for March:

"The friends of this veteran Abolitionist, on both sides of the Atlantic, will rejoice to learn that his health is very much improved; that he looks and feels much better than we could have dared to anticipate some months ago. Considering the severity and the dangerous character of the illness by which he was prostrated soon after his arrival in England, it is cause of thankfulness and congratulation that he has become so wonderfully reestablished (although there is still room for improvement), and that his American coadjutors may venture to look forward to his devoted and able cooperation for many years. Since his arrival in Great Britain, his will has always outstripped his physical ability; and his friends have entreated him to spare himself much more than he has been disposed to do. But he is one who thinks it better 'to wear out than to rust out,' and no man ever laid fine endowments in a more generous spirit on the altar of a noble cause."

TRIBUTE TO C. M. BURLEIGH.

AT a meeting of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, held March 8th, 1855, the following resolutions were passed and directed to be sent to the *Standard* for publication:

Resolved, That, by the death of Cyrus M. Burleigh, the American Abolitionists have lost a most valuable and faithful fellow-labourer, whose earnest and self-sacrifising devotedness to the Anti-Slavery cause, for many years, has strengthened their hands in their arduous work.

Resolved, That, in the consecration of youth and manhood to an holy but unpopular Reform, and in the fidelity with which he redeemed his early pledge of fealty to it, he has left a noble example to his coadjutors, who deeply deplore the loss which they have sustained in his death.

Extracted from the Minutes.

SUSAN M. SHAW, Secretary.

HON. HENRY WILSON'S LETTER, explaining his course upon the Oregon bill and other matters relating to slavery, which we have placed on the first page, will not fail to attract the notice of our readers, who, we are confident, are as anxious as we know ourselves to be to do him no manner of injustice. We believe him sincere in his avowal of a determination to be true, under all circumstances, to his anti-slavery principles; but we see, at the same time, that his unfortunate connection with the Know-Nothings, to whom, in part at least, he is indebted for his seat in the Senate, exposes him to the temptation of trying [illegible] of that secret organization. So far as the Oregon question is concerned, we accept his explanation in good faith, though we must continue to think it unfortunate that he did not take a different course. It will be seen that there is nothing in his letter which requires or will even permit us to modify what we said last week of his answers to the interrogatories of Senator Benjamin, on the subject of the rendition of fugitive slaves by State authority.

Mr. Wilson is not responsible to us for his opinions or his acts, but he is a public man, and therefore has no right to complain if Abolitionists of our school, influenced by a paramount regard for the cause of freedom, scan his course with anxious interest and subject it to watchful scrutiny.

SOLOMON NORTHUP is in Boston, holding meetings for the purpose of telling his experience as a slave.

WHAT MAKES SLAVERY A QUESTION OF NATIONAL CONCERN? A Lecture, delivered, by invitation, at New York, Jan. 30, and at Syracuse, Feb. 1, 1855. By CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

We are glad that this Lecture, which we commended very highly at the time of its delivery, and which greatly edified those who were so fortunate as to hear it as it fell from the author's lips, has been issued in a pamphlet, in which form we hope it may have a wide circulation and a permanent place in anti-slavery literature. Mr. Adams is the mouth-piece of no party. He utters his own independent convictions without reserve and with a candour that cannot fail to commend them to the respectful consideration of all the friends of liberty. The latter half of his Lecture, in which he presents his objections to the Know-Nothing Deflection from the Right Line of Anti-Slavery Action, will be found on the first page. It is a timely exposition of the folly and absurdity of a movement which has deceived many inconsiderate minds and bids fair to prolong the reign of the Slave Power over the affairs of the country.

A CARD.

A GOOD WORK.—The American and Foreign Emigrant Protective and Employment Society is quietly, but with energy and success, prosecuting its truly philanthropic mission. In addition to the number of unemployed poor which it has been instrumental in sending into the country, its plan of reform in the mode of receiving and dismissing city domestics is being carried out with encouraging results. The new and spacious rooms in the Bible House, Astor-Place, are crowded with domestics seeking situations and with citizens who resort thither to obtain help. The Committee of the Bible House at first hesitated about renting the premises for the purpose, but under the excellent management which is observed, they find they have no occasion for regret. By a recent arrangement with an extensive Clothing establishment, the females, while waiting for situations, will be engaged in vest and pantaloons-making. A library of books also is being collected for their entertainment and improvement. None are admitted to a seat in the office until their characters have been obtained by direct correspondence with their former employers, and thus families are protected as much as possible against the introduction of immoral domestics. Agreeably with the expressed wish of a number of the citizens of Brooklyn, a branch office is about to be opened in that city. We are requested to ask book publishers and others to contribute suitable books of a non-sectarian character to the Society's Library. At the Society's Lower Office, No. 27 Greenwich street, male servants, farm and other labourers, mechanics, female domestics newly arrived, and children to be bound out, can always be obtained. The Managers express their thanks to newspapers and magazine publishers for liberal weekly supplies of their publications.

Summary.

New Hampshire—All Hail!—*New Bedford Mercury.*

Perhaps you mean all *Hale!*—*Boston Times.*

A Western editor thus delivers himself: "We would say to the individual who stole our shirt off the pole while we were lying in bed waiting for it to dry, that we sincerely hope the collar may cut his throat."

The New York correspondent of the New Orleans *Bulletin* gives an account of three weddings at St. Thomas Church, and remarks: "If one of the brides who wore her dresses so tightly laced as to cause her shoulder blades to touch, continues such habits, she will not only be without posterity, but any very long personal futurity, of which we shall be cognizant."

We have a horrid story from Port Gibson, Miss. It seems that a member of the church who had been suspended had made application to be reinstated, and all the members consented except Dr. Woodward, the pastor. The ex-communicated member became indignant, and while the trial was in progress, he rushed upon Rev. Dr. Woodward, and stabbed him to the heart, in front of the pulpit of the Methodist church. The reverend martyr expired instantly.

NEW WAY OF OBTAINING A PASSAGE.—Ship Queen of the Seas, which cleared at this port yesterday for San Francisco, has all her berths taken up. Among the passengers are several young ladies. A gentleman wishing very much to take passage in the ship, found there was no room for him except by *marrying* one of the young ladies, which he accordingly did; and the berth which was to be occupied by the young lady, will now be filled by (we hope) a happy couple!—*Bost. Tel.*, 15th.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS.—In the town of Erving, Franklin County, Mass., Mrs. Heman Holden has been elected a member of the School Committee for that town. The Greenfield *Republic* says, she is said to be a very intelligent, respectable and capable woman, and will no doubt make an efficient and useful "committee man." Many school committees might be improved in the same way.

AN EDITOR WHO KEEPS HIS OWN PARSON.—The *Banner of the Cross*, an Episcopal paper, published at Philadelphia, says that Gerard Hallock, once a clergyman himself, one of the editors and proprietors of the New York *Journal of Commerce*, resides in New Haven, Conn., where he supports a church and minister himself. Every Monday morning the minister is expected to breakfast with him, and on lifting his plate finds a weekly salary of $42 beneath it.

DIPLOMATIC.

Sonlé 'twas thought, to Cuba have,
Would wade through smoke and fire,—
It seems, howe'er, his game was but
Ostend-sibly to buy her.

But that fair isle still clings to Spain,
And of her we must ease her,
So Caesar Dodge is sent, who's up
To any dodge to seize her.

—*Boston Transcript.*

Great distress exists among the people of the Madawaska settlements in Maine, who are in a state bordering on starvation. The cause of this destitution was the employment of a large portion of those settlers who cultivated farms in the farming season, upon the river in driving logs, till too late in the spring to sow and plant their fields as they were wont. Consequently a large number of the farms in that settlement yielded no crops last season upon which to subsist during the long and inclement winter. The Legislature has appropriated six thousand dollars for the relief of the people.

Gerrit Smith writes a long letter in the papers to Wendell Phillips, in the course of which he expresses his desire for the annexation of Cuba to this country. His arguments therefor, we think, are exceedingly weak and flimsy. If we admit Cuba why shall we refuse to admit *other* slave States? We strengthen the political power of slavery every time we give it additional votes in the National Legislature, and just so long as *property* can send men to Congress from slave States, and cannot in free, we have a good excuse for keeping the power of the South where it is at present.—*Hartford Republican.*

A beautiful mulatto girl was hanged in Eutaw, last Friday, for murdering a child—the circumstances as follows: Her master was a young man and overseer; he seduced the girl, and then bought her. When her child was three years old, he married a young lady of small fortune and bought a plantation for himself. The lady soon ascertained that her husband was the father of the little curly head, and at once became indignant towards it, and at the slightest offence would cruelly abuse the child. The mother bore it with patience for a while, but seeing her mistress get no better, she knocked her child's brains out with an axe, and went to the Court House, told the circumstances, gave herself up, and was committed to prison.—*Miss. Daily Times.*

MAINE LIQUOR LAW STATISTICAL SOCIETY.—A society has been formed, consisting of upwards of one hundred clergymen and others, of the Maine Liquor Law States, for collecting facts and statistics in relation to the Maine Liquor Law, and its results, where it has been in operation. They have already collected a mass of the best authenticated evidence of the beneficial effects of the law, and numerous interesting incidents illustrating the same, which are about being published, as will be seen by the advertisement in this day's *Era*. It is a project deserving the support of all the friends of Temperance, and we are glad to see such names as Gerrit Smith, Neal Dow, and Rev. S. C. Fessenden, &c., among its list of supporters.

[illegible] Ohio, in this county, on the 17th ult. A quarrel had occurred between the two, growing out of an attempt on the part of the deceased to chastise a twin brother of the younger lad. The latter, by some means, having obtained possession of a loaded pistol, deliberately discharged its contents into the head of the deceased, who lingered for a few hours and then expired in the greatest agony. The mother of the boys was present and witnessed the dreadful scene, but was unable to prevent the catastrophe. The father was absent. There has been no examination in the case as we understand, and the young fratricide is yet at large.—*Mohawk (N. Y.) Courier*, 1st.

"HIGH LIFE IN FIFTH AVENUE."—The New York *Express* gives an account of the seduction of a young woman, 19 years of age, by a rich old villain, living in the Fifth Avenue, a man 55 years of age, who has three grown-up daughters. The girl is a native of a country town in Massachusetts, and becoming acquainted with a New York family then on a visit to the place of her residence, she accompanied them back to the city. There she became acquainted with the old villain referred to, who, after promising to marry her, took her into Taylor's saloon, treated her to *Hedrick*, and then conducted her to a den of prostitution in Mercer street, where he effected her ruin. He then refused to marry her, but promised to make her his mistress. This she refused to consent to, and communicated the facts to her friends who have applied to the proper authorities for the arrest of the hoary old scoundel, and the case will undergo investigation.

A TOUCHING STORY.—A lady, now residing in Newport, formerly made her home in New Orleans. A female slave, who worked for her, was for some cause shortly to be sold, and she came to her begging that she would become her mistress, a request that was declined on principle; but incessant pleading and the most earnest entreaties on the part of the distressed woman at length prevailed, and the lady agreed to pay the sum demanded, eight hundred dollars, on the condition that the slave should wash for her family a limited time when her free papers would be given her. It was so settled, and in a short time the creature was overjoyed to find herself a free woman, with means enough to take her to California, where, by following her old calling, of washing, she soon accumulated a handsome sum. That she did not forget her generous benefactress is self-evident, for she has since returned to the States, and her mission was to present to one who had so befriended her, a superb Chinese counterpane, that must have cost at least two hundred dollars. The ground is of scarlet and satin, and is covered with embroidery of the richest and most beautiful designs that the Chinese are capable of.—*Newport Mercury.*

LECTURES BY MRS. E. L. ROSE.—Mrs. Ernestine L. Rose, of New York, lectured on Tuesday afternoon and evening at Washington Hall, to small but very intelligent audiences. The subject of her first lecture was the Formation of Character. She treated it in a very able, original and philosophical manner, and logically showed that human character was, in a chief degree, the product of laws and circumstances over which the individual has no control. It was a theme of great moment, and was most eloquently discussed by this ardent Female Reformer.

In the evening, her subject was Slavery. She gave a vivid sketch of the blighting effects of Slavery on the North as well as on the South.

Mrs. Rose will lecture at Washington Hall again this evening, on the subject of the "Fundamental Evils of Society and their Causes." It is a very interesting topic, and we have no doubt will be treated in a style worthy of the theme and the accomplished Lecturer. Any person wishing to hear independent thoughts courageously as well as eloquently expressed, cannot do better than to attend. Mrs. Rose is a fearless defender of Free Thought.—*Yates County Whig, March 15th.*

GEN. PIERCE "ANXIOUS" BUT NOT DEPRESSED.—The *Post* publishes the following extract from a private letter written about a week ago by President Pierce to a gentleman in New Hampshire:

"I am naturally anxious about the result of the election in New Hampsh

Miscellaneous Department.

PRINCE BULL. A FAIRY TALE.

Once upon a time, and of course it was in the Golden Age, and I hope you may know when that was, for I am sure I don't, though I have tried hard to find out, there lived in a rich and fertile country, a powerful Prince whose name was Bull. He had gone through a great deal of fighting in his time, about all sorts of things, including nothing; but, had gradually settled down to be a steady, peaceable, good-natured, corpulent, rather sleepy Prince.

This Puissant Prince was married to a lovely Princess whose name was Fair Freedom. She had brought him a large fortune, and had borne him an immense number of children, and had set them to spinning, and farming, and engineering, and soldiering, and sailoring, and doctoring, and lawyering, and preaching, and all kinds of trades. The coffers of Prince Bull were full of treasure, his cellars were crammed with delicious wines from all parts of the world, the richest gold and silver plate that ever was seen adorned his sideboards, his sous were strong, his daughters were handsome, and in short you might have supposed that if there ever lived upon earth a fortunate and happy Prince, the name of that Prince, take him for all in all, was assuredly Prince Bull.

But, appearances, as we all know, are not always to be trusted—far from it; and if they had led to this conclusion respecting Prince Bull, they would have led you wrong, as they often have led me.

For, this good Prince had two sharp thorns in his pillow, two hard knobs in his crown, two heavy loads on his mind, two unbridled night-mares in his sleep, two rocks ahead in his course. He could not by any means get servants to suit him, and he had a tyrannical old godmother whose name was Tape.

She was a Fairy, this Tape, and was a bright red all over. She was disgustingly prim and formal, and could never bend herself a hair's breadth this way or that way, out of her naturally crooked shape. But, she was very potent in her wicked art. She could stop the fastest thing in the world, change the strongest thing into the weakest, and the most useful into the most useless. To do this she had only to put her cold hand upon it, and repeat her own name, Tape. Then it withered away.

At the Court of Prince Bull—at least I don't mean literally at his court, because he was a very genteel Prince, and really yielded to his godmother when she always reserved that for his hereditary Lords and Ladies—in the dominions of Prince Bull, among the great mass of the community who were called in the language of that polite country the Mobs and the Snobs, were a number of very ingenious men, who were always busy with some invention or other, for promoting the prosperity of the Prince's subjects and augmenting the Prince's power. But, whenever they submitted their models for the Prince's approval, his godmother stepped forward, laid her hand upon them, and said "Tape." Hence it came to pass, that when any particularly good discovery was made, the discoverer usually carried it off to some other Prince, in foreign parts, who had no old godmother who said Tape. This was not on the whole an advantageous state of things for Prince Bull, to the best of my understanding.

The worst of it, was, that Prince Bull had in course of years lapsed into such a state of subjection to this unlucky godmother, that he never made any serious effort to rid himself of her tyranny. I have said this was the worst of it, but there I was wrong, because there is a worse consequence still, behind. The Prince's numerous family became so downright sick and tired of Tape, that when they should have helped the Prince out of the difficulties into which that evil creature led him, they fell into a dangerous habit of moodily keeping away from him in an impassive and indifferent manner, as though they had quite forgotten that no harm could happen to the Prince their father, without its inevitably affecting themselves.

Such was the aspect of affairs at the court of Prince Bull, when this great Prince found it necessary to go to war with Prince Bear. He had been for some time very doubtful of his servants, who, besides being indolent and addicted to enriching their families at his expense, domineered over him dreadfully; threatening to discharge themselves if they were found the least fault with, pretending that they had done a wonderful amount of work when they had done nothing, making the most lumbering speeches that ever were heard in the Prince's name, and uniformly showing themselves to be very inefficient indeed. Though, that Prince Bull called his servants together, and said to them one and all, "Send out my army against Prince Bear. Clothe it, arm it, feed it, provide it with all necessaries and contingencies, and I will pay the piper! Do your duty by my brave troops," said the Prince, "and do it well, and I will pour my treasure out like water, to defray the cost. Who ever heard ME complain of money well laid out!" Which indeed he had reason for saying, inasmuch as he was well known to be a truly generous and munificent Prince.

When the servants heards those words, they sent out the army against Prince Bear, and they set the army tailors to work, and the army provision merchants, and the makers of guns both great and small, and the gunpowder makers, and the makers of ball, shell, and shot; and they bought up all manner of stores and ships, without troubling their heads about the price, and appeared to be so busy that the good Prince rubbed his hands, and (using a favourite expression of his), said, "It's all right!". But, while they were thus employed, the Prince's godmother, who was a great favourite with those servants, looked in upon them continually all day long, and whenever she popped in her head at the door, said, "How do you do, my children? What are you doing here?" "Official business, godmother." "Oho!" says this wicked Fairy, "—Tape!" And then the business all went wrong, whatever it was, and the servants' heads became so addled and muddled that they thought they were doing wonders.

Now, this was very bad conduct on the part of the vicious old nuisance, and she ought to have been strangled, even if she had stopped here; but, she did n't stop here, as you shall learn. For, a number of the Prince's subjects, being very fond of the Prince's army who were the bravest of men, assembled together and provided all manner of eatables and drinkables, and books to read, and clothes to wear, and tobacco to smoke, and candles to burn, and nailed them up in great packing-cases, and put them aboard a great many ships to be carried out to that brave army in the cold and inclement country where they were fighting Prince Bear. Then, up comes this wicked Fairy as the ships were weighing anchor, and says, "How do you do, my children? What are you doing here?"—"We are going with all these comforts to the army, godmother." "Oho!" says she "A pleasant voyage, my darling. Tape!" And from that time forth, those enchanted ships went sailing, against wind and tide and rhyme and reason, round and round the world, and whenever they touched at any port were ordered off immediately, and could never deliver their cargoes anywhere.

This, again, was very bad conduct on the part of the vicious old nuisance, and she ought to have been strangled for it if she had done nothing worse; but, she did something worse still, as you shall learn. For, she got astride of an official broomstick, and muttered as a spell these two sentences "On Her Majesty's service," and "I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient servant," and presently alighted in the cold and inclement country where the army of Prince Bull were encamped to fight the army of Prince Bear. On the seashore of that country, she found piled together, a number of houses for the army to live in, and a quantity of provisions for the army to live upon, and a quantity of clothes for the army to wear; while, sitting in the mud gazing at them, were a group of officers as red to look at as the wicked old woman herself. So, she said to one of them, "Who are you, my darling, and how do you do?" "I am the Quarter-master General's Department, godmother, and I am pretty well." Then she said to another, "Who are *you*, my darling, and how do *you* do?" "I am the Commissariat Department, Godmother, and *I* am pretty well." Then she said to another, "Who are *you*, my darling, and how do *you* do?" "I am the head of the Medical Department, godmother, and *I* am pretty well." Then, she said to some gentlemen scented with lavender, who kept themselves at a great distance from the rest, "And who are *you*, my pretty pets, and how do *you* do?" And they answered, "We-aw are the-aw-Staff-aw-Department, godmother, and we are very well indeed." "I am delighted to see you all, my beauties," says this wicked old Fairy, "—Tape!" Upon that, the houses, clothes and provisions, all mouldered away; and the soldiers who were sound, fell sick; and the soldiers who were sick, died miserably; and the noble army of Prince Bull perished.

When the dismal news of his great loss was carried to the Prince, he suspected his godmother very much indeed; but, he knew that his servants must have kept company with the malicious beldame, and must have given way to her, and therefore he resolved to turn those servants out of their places. So, he called to him a Roebuck who had the gift of speech, and he said, "Good Roebuck, tell them they must go." So, the good Roebuck delivered his message, so like a man that you might have supposed him to be nothing but a man and they were turned out—but, not without warning, for that they had had a long time.

And now comes the most extraordinary part of the history of this Prince. When he had turned out those servants, of course he wanted others. What was his astonishment to find that in all his dominions, which contained no less than twenty-seven millions of people, there were not above five-and-twenty servants altogether! They were so lofty about it, too, that instead of discussing whether they should hire themselves as servants to Prince Bull, they turned things topsyturvey, and considered whether as a favour, they should hire Prince Bull to be their master! While they were arguing this point among themselves quite at their leisure, the wicked old red fairy was incessantly going up and down, knocking at the doors of twelve of the oldest of the five-and-twenty, who were the oldest inhabitants in all that country, and whose united ages amounted to one thousand, saying, "Will *you* hire Prince Bull for your master? Will *you* hire Prince Bull for your master?" To which, one answered, "I will, if next door will;" and another, "I can't if he, she or they, might, could, would, or should." And all this time Prince Bull's affairs were going to rack and ruin.

At last, Prince Bull in the height of his perplexity assumed a thoughtful face, as if he were struck by an entirely new idea. The wicked old Fairy, seeing this, was at his elbow directly, and said, "How do you do, my Prince, and what are you thinking of?" "I am thinking godmother," says he, "that among all the seven-and-twenty millions of my subjects who have never been in service, there are men of intellects and business who have made me very famous both among my friends and enemies." "Aye, truly?" says the Fairy. "Aye, truly," says the Prince. "And what then?" say the Fairy. "Why, then," says he, "since the regular old class of servants do so ill, are so hard to get, and carry it with so high a hand, perhaps I might try to make good servants of some of these." The words had no sooner passed his lips than she returned, chuckling, "You think so, do you? Indeed, my Prince!—Tape!" Thereupon he directly forgot what he was thinking of, and cried out lamentably to the old servants, "O, do come and hire your poor old master! Pray do! On any terms!"

And this, for the present, finishes the story of Prince Bull. I wish I could wind it up by saying that he lived happy ever afterwards, but I cannot in my conscience do so; for, with Tape at his elbow, and his estranged children fatally repelled by her from coming near him, I do not, to tell you the plain truth, believe in the possibility of such an end to it.—*Household Words.*

ALEXANDER SMITH TRYING POETICAL CONCLUSIONS WITH TENNYSON.

From the Manchester (Eng.) Guardian.

The recent Ode of the Poet Laureate, Alfred Tennyson, upon the fatal charge at Balaklava, has been generally admitted to be a piece of such crude and spiritless doggerel, that every true-hearted Englishman must have blushed at the performance. The subject having been mentioned to our gifted townsman, Alexander Smith, he, by request, at once penned the following glowing poem, which does ample justice to the theme, and is worthy to take its place in English martial verse, with Hohenlinden, the Battle of the Baltic, the Death of Sir John Moore, &c., &c. Such are the "songs" of a nation which are more potent than its laws.

BALAKLAVA.

On the charge at Balaklava!
Oh that rash and fatal charge—
Never was a fiercer, braver,
Than that charge at Balaklava.
On the battle's bloody marge!
All the day the Russian columns,
Fortress huge, and blazing banks,
Poured their dread destructive volumes
On the French and English ranks—
On the gallant allied ranks!
Earth and sky seemed rent asunder
By the loud incessant thunder!
When a strange but stern command—
Needless, heedless, rash command—
Came to Lucan's little band—
Scarce six hundred men and horses
Of the very choicest mettle—
On that rash and fatal charge,
On the battle's bloody marge!

Far away the Russian Eagles
Soar o'er smoking hill and dell,
And their hordes, like howling beagles,
Dense and countless, round them yell!
Thundering cannon, deadly mortar,
Sweep the field in every quarter!
Never, since the days of Jesus,
Trembled so the Chersonesus!
Here behold the Gallic Lillies—
Stout St. Louis's golden Lillies!
Float as erst at old Ramillies!
And, beside them, lo! the Lion—
England's proud, unconquered Lion!
With her trophied Cross, is flying!
Glorious standards! shall they waver
On the field of Balaklava?
No, by heavens! at that command—
Sudden, rash, but stern command!
Charges Lucan's little band!
Brave six hundred! lo! they charge
On the battle's bloody marge!

Down yon deep and skirted valley,
Where the crowded cannon play—
Where the Czar's fierce cohort's rally,
Cossack, Calmuck, savage Kalli—
Down that gorge they swept away!
Down that new Thermopylæ,
Flashing swords and helmets see!
Underneath the iron shower,
To the brazon cannon's jaws,
Heedless of their deadly power,
Press they without fear or pause—
To the very cannon's jaws!
Gallant Nolan, brave as Roland
At the field of Roncesvalles,
Dashes down the fatal valley,
Dashes on the bolt of death,
Shouting with his latest breath,
"Charge, then, gallants! do not waver,
Charge the pass of Balaklava!"
Oh, that rash and fatal charge,
On the battle's bloody marge!

Now the bolts of vollied thunder,
Rend that little band asunder,
Steed and rider wildly screaming,
Screaming wildly sink away;
Late so proudly, proudly gleaming,
Now but lifeless clods of clay—
Now but bleeding clods of clay!
Never, since the days of Jesus,
Saw such sight the Chersonesus!
Yet your remnant, brave Six Hundred,
Presses onward, onward, onward!
Till they storm the bloody pass—
Till, like brave Leonidas,
They storm the deadly pass!
Sab'ring Cossack, Kalmuck, Kalli,
In that wild shot-rended valley—
Drenched with fire and blood, like lava,
Awful pass at Balaklava!
Oh, that rash and fatal charge,
On that battle's bloody marge!

For now Russia's rallied forces,
Swarming hordes of Cossack horses,
Trampling o'er the reeking corses,
Drive the thinned assailants back,
Drive the feeble remnant back!
O'er their late heroic track!
Vain, alas! now rent and sundered,
Vain your struggles, brave Two Hundred!
Thrice your number lie asleep,
In that valley dark and deep,
Weak and wounded you retire
From that hurricane of fire—
That tempestuous storm of fire—
But no soldiers, firmer, braver,
Ever trod a field of fame,
Than the Knights of Balaklava—
Honour to each hero's name!
Yet their country long shall mourn
For her ranks so rashly shorn,
So gallantly, but madly shorn
In that fierce and fatal charge,
On the battle's bloody marge.

A PARTING LAY.

BY MARION HARLAND.*

[Published by Request.]

Away with thoughts of sadness, Love,
I will be gay to-night;
I would awhile indulge the hopes,
To-morrow's sun will blight;
Oh! once again our favor'te songs,
Together let us sing,
And thus forget the wailing strains,
To-morrow's sun will bring—
Away with thoughts of sadness, Love,
I will be gay to-night.

Alas! 'tis vain, we who have lived
And loved so long must part,
The smile has faded from my cheek,
The gladness from my heart;
And since at this our sad farewell,
For months, perhaps for years,
We cannot join in blithesome lay,
Oh! let us mingle tears—
Away with thoughts of Gladness, Love,
For I must weep to-night.

Richmond, Virginia.

* Authoress of *Alone*; a Virginia novelt

MYSTERIES OF FOREIGN DIPLOMACY.

THE BLACK COAT QUESTION.

Mr. Perkins, of Louisiana [says the *Evening Post*], in his interesting exposition of the new Diplomatic and Consular bill before the House of Representatives, near the close of the late session, presented some historical facts, connected with the subject of costume, worthy of being remembered. In relation to that clause which abolished "outfits" and "infits," he said:

"A provision for outfit and infit was originally made in imitation of the display that characterized the diplomacy of Europe. Court etiquette and state ceremony formerly occupied a great portion of the diplomatist's time. Cabinet secrets were confined to the few, and the giving of presents and costly display in dress and living were recognised as legitimate and practical modes of influence. At the foundation of our government, therefore, these appendages may have been wisely provided for as adding to the dignity and influence of our foreign ministers. The means of travel were then more tedious and expensive. From Washington to London, by the best and most expeditious means of conveyance, costs now not more than $170; to Paris, $200; to Berlin, $250; to Vienna, $300; and less than this to most of the other European capitals.

"There did not then exist at the different courts of Europe the same facilities for eleganee and comfort in a temporary residence, and ambassadors from one country to another were obliged either to carry these with them or to incur great expense in their purchase. Outfits and infits for foreign ministers were, for these reasons, furnished by all the governments of Europe. Within the last sixty-five years, however, great changes have taken place, in these respects, in all the European States.

"In illustration of the feeling of the day, I would recall to the recollection of the House the great embarrassment experienced by Congress in 1778, on the reception of M. Gerard, the first French minister. The subject was referred to a committee, composed of Richard Henry Lee, Samuel Adams and Gouverneur Morris, whose report on the subject, turning on mere points of etiquette, was discussed for five days.

"In the end he was received with a degree of formality that cannot be read without a smile. After providing that he should be called on by two members of Congress, the programme of his reception continues:

"'At the time he is to receive his audience, the two members shall again wait upon him in a coach belonging to the States, and the person first named of the two shall return with the minister plenipotentiary, or envoy, in the coach, giving the minister the right hand, and placing himself on the left, with the other member on the first seat. When the minister plenipotentiary or envoy is arrived at the door of the Congress hall, he shall be introduced to his chair by the two members, who shall stand at his left hand. When the minister is introduced to his chair by the two members, he shall sit down. His secretary shall then deliver to the President the letter of his sovereign, which shall be read and translated by the secretary of Congress. Then the minister shall be announced, at which time the President, the House and the minister, shall rise together. The minister shall then bow to the President and the House, and they to him. The minister and the President shall then bow to each other and be seated, after which the House shall sit down. The minister shall deliver his speech standing. The President and the House shall sit while the minister is delivering his speech. The House shall rise, and the President shall deliver the answer, standing. The minister shall stand while the President delivers his answer. Having spoken and being answered, the minister and President shall bow to each other, at which time the House shall bow, and then the minister shall be conducted home in the manner in which he was brought to the House.'

"But a short time before this, Silas Dean, our minister at Paris, wrote home from France to Congress for some of the natural products of the country, to be given, by way of influence, as presents to the Queen. He said in his letter, speaking of Marie Antoinette:

"'*December* 3, 1776.—The Queen is fond of parade, and, I believe, wishes for war; and is our friend. She loves riding on horseback. Can you send me a fine Narragansett horse or two? The money would be well laid out. Rittenhouse's aviary, or Arnold's collection of insects, a phæton of American make, and a pair of bay horses, a few barrels of apples, walnuts, cranberries, butternuts, &c., would be great curiosities.'

"During General Washington's administration, presents of form were given to foreign ministers—generally a chain and medal of gold; and there yet exists a letter of Jefferson's, dated New York, April 30, 1790, written to Paris, directing the manner in which the medal was to be cast. He desired it inscribed with 'peace and commerce, and 'the date of the republic.' We are accustomed to speak of the simplicity of these early days without very exact ideas of what this simplicity consisted in; but, long after Mr. Jefferson's time, the circular from the State Department to our foreign ministers informed them that with each receive 'an engraved design of the uniform worn by the ministers of the United States at foreign courts, on occasions when full dress is required'; and that the expense of 'presents to the menial attendants at court, and of the public functionaries,' at their presentation, and on other established occasions, 'usually Christmas and New Year's day,' would be allowed, as contingencies, by the Department.

"There exist to this time, in the State Department, plates showing the pattern of dress, and amount of gold embroidery and lace, to be worn by our ministers abroad, and its various modifications under different administrations."

Mr. Perkins then gives, in a note, the costumal history of American Diplomacy from the days of Franklin to those of Marcy, as follows:

"From a French writer of the day, quoted by Lyman, we have the following description of Dr. Franklin's appearance at the French court:

"'Franklin appeared at court in the dress of an American cultivator. His straight, unpowdered hair, his round hat, his brown cloth coat, formed a contrast with the lace and embroidered coats and the powdered and perfumed heads of the courtiers of Versailles.'

"The costume worn by American representatives abroad, and the modifications to which it has been subjected at different periods of our history, will appear from the following extracts.

"Mr. Gallatin, soon after his appointment as one of the commissioners to Ghent, wrote (April 22, 1813) to the State Department, inquiring if the President had intended to prescribe any uniform to be worn by our representatives abroad. If any was to be prescribed, he recommended that it should be as simple as possible, with very little lace, which was common in liveries, and without epauletts, which he thought should be exclusively for the army and navy; that, for his own part, he preferred a black coat to any uniform.

"A uniform was determined upon, but seems never to have been *prescribed*. The State Department, after this date, usually sent, with his commission, to each newly-appointed minister abroad, an engraved pattern of the dress he was *recommended* to wear on state occasions.

"The following circular was issued under Mr. Monroe's administration:

"'MEMORANDUM OF THE DRESS OF AN AMERICAN MINISTER, AS FIXED BY THE MISSION TO GHENT.

"'A blue coat, lined with white silk, straight standing cape, embroidered with gold, single-breasted, or round button-holes slightly embroidered; buttons plain, or, if they can be had, with the artillerist's eagle stamped upon them (*i. e.* an eagle flying with a wreath in his mouth, and grasping lightning with one of its talons); cuffs embroidered in the manner of the cape; white cassimere breeches, gold knee-buckles; white silk stockings, and gold or gilt shoe-buckles; a three-cornered *chapeau de bras*, not so large as those used by the French, nor so small as those of the English; a black cockade, to which lately an eagle has attached; sword, &c., corresponding.

"'On occasions of unusual ceremony, the minister was to wear a coat similar to that above described, but embroidered round the skirts and down the breasts, as well as at the cuffs and cape, all the other parts of the dress remaining the same. The coats to be distinguished as the *great* and the small uniform. There should be a white ostrich feather or plumet in the minister's hat—not standing erect, but sewed round the brim.

"'DEPARTMENT OF STATE, November 6, 1817.'

"A CIRCULAR UNDER MR. ADAMS'S ADMINISTRATION.

"'This uniform was adopted for the convenience of visiting in the same dress upon all necessary occasions and at every court. The use of it is in no case prescribed by this government, and every minister of the United States abroad may wear, at his discretion, any dress conformably with the customs of the place where he may reside. The engraved design furnished is, however, specially recommended, on account of the uniformity which it produces on the dress of our ministers abroad.'

"A CIRCULAR UNDER GEN. JACKSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

"'WASHINGTON, November 2, 1829.

"'The President has thought proper to adopt the following as the dress to be used by our ministers and other diplomatic agents upon all such occasions, which is recommended as well by its comparative cheapness as its adaptation to the simplicity of our institutions: A black coat, with a gold star on each side of the collar, near its termination; the underclothes to be black, blue or white, at the option of the wearer; a three-cornered *chapeau de bras*, a black cockade and eagle, and a steel-mounted sword, with a white scabbard. It is to be understood, however, that the use of this particular dress is not prescribed by the President. It is suggested by his direction as an appropriate and convenient uniform dress for the use of ministers and other diplomatic agents of the United States.'

"From this date down to the issue of Mr. Marcy's circular on the subject, there was no further modification."

Mr. Perkins also devotes some interesting remarks to the costume of consuls, which he introduces *apropos* of a provision of the law abolishing vice-consuls and consul-generals, reserving only the titles of consuls and commercial agents.

Mr. Perkins's reasons for the charge we shall seek some future occasion to notice; we content ourselves at present with quoting the following paragraphs from his remarks:

"In 1852 there were in Europe one hundred and twenty-five subjects of other governments acting as American vice-consuls, and in European colonies two hundred and twenty-five, making three hundred and fifty, exclusive of those in South America and the Pacific. These men exercised all the power of regular consuls. They granted American passports to almost whom they pleased, and taxed Americans and American commerce for their support in almost every imaginable form. Should I state the extent to which frauds upon the treasury have been practiced under the consular office, as they have been described to me by those in positions making them cognizant of the facts, it would seem almost incredible.

"A letter addressed to me on this subject by one many years consul abroad—still acting as such—and noted for his intelligence and honesty, says:

"'Within the last few years, innumerable passports have been granted by these vice-consuls to persons not pretending to be Americans. One United States vice-consul told me he had himself signed three thousand, and that all in one year, from his consulate, was four thousand two hundred.'

"In the same connection, he says:

"'So many vile frauds have been practised in granting passports that in some parts of Europe the term is, you can be manufactured an American as low as fifty cents, or, if of a higher fabric, for fifteen dollars to thirty dollars."

"Mr. Speaker, of course I do not read this as true always, or everywhere in Europe; but that it may be and has been practised under our present consular system, makes its reform a duty. As I am reading, I will give an extract which will apply to another branch of the subject. Of consuls leaving their posts, he says:

"'Seventeen ministers, consuls, attaches and others, all passed through this city within the last quarter, not one on government business, or with the permission of the department.'

"This reminds me, Mr. Speaker, to read the instructions about dress to our consuls, in force up to the last few years. The permission to be decked as it describes may explain, in part, the great demand that has existed for the position of a vice-consul:

"'STATE DEPARTMENT, July 1, 1838.

"'ART. 47. *The consular uniform* (as prescribed by the circular from this Department, dated August 8, 1815, here annexed), must be worn on all visits of ceremony to the authorities of the place, and on all other proper occasions.

"'CIRCULAR.

"'DEPARTMENT OF STATE, August 8, 1815.

"'The consular uniform, prescribed in the standing consular instructions, is abolished, and the following substituted, viz.:

"'Single-breasted coat of blue cloth, with standing cape or collar, and ten navy buttons in front, one button on each side of the cape; four on each cuff; four under each pocket; and one on each hip and in the folds; two on each side, in the centre; and one on each side of the same, at the lower extremities of the skirts.

"'The front (from the cape down to the lower extremity of the skirts), cuffs, cape and pocket-flaps, to be embroidered in gold, representing a vine composed of olive-leaves, and the button-holes to be worked with gold thread; the button-holes corresponding with the width of the embroidery, which is not to exceed two inches in any part.

"'Vest and small clothes of white, and navy buttons; the former to have ten in front, and four under each pocket-flap. With this dress, a cocket hat, small sword, and shoes and buckles, are to be worn. The hat to be furnished with gold loop, gold tassels, and black cockade, with gold eagle in the centre; added to which, it is to be understood that the mountings of the sword and shoe and knee buckles are to be gold; otherwise, gilt.'

"In such attire, in this country, one would only be laughed at; but at localities where rank is indicated by dress, and constitutes the ambition of life, you can imagine the satisfaction enjoyed by foreign vice-consuls to the United States in its parade on public occasions. It is worthy of note, that, up to 1815, when Mr. Monroe was Secretary of State, consuls wore the United States naval uniform.*

"It would seem as if this circular of 1815 was prepared to prevent any subsequent confounding of a consul with a naval officer. Since the circular of Mr. Marcy, consuls dress very much as they please."

* Consular Uniform when Mr. Jefferson was Secretary of State.—"The consuls and vice-consuls of the United States are free to wear the uniform of their navy, if they choose to do so. This is a deep blue coat, with red facings, linings, and cuffs; the cuffs slashed, and a standing collar; red waistcoat (laced or not, as the election of the wearer), and blue breeches; yellow buttons, with a foul anchor, and black cockades and small swords."—[*Jefferson's Works*, 187, 188.

JOSEPH HUME.

The living political reformers of Great Britain have lost their oldest leader—Joseph Hume is numbered with the dead. Mr. Hume had been visibly declining in health for a year past. During the last few weeks disease of the heart gradually reduced his strength, and gave warning that his end was drawing near. He expired at 6 o'clock, on Tuesday night, at his seat, Burnley Hall, Norfolk.

Mr. Hume was a native of Montrose, and born in January, 1777. His father was the master of a coasting vessel trading from that town. Mrs. Hume was early left a widow with a large family, of whom Joseph was a younger son. The mother, ill-provided, established a retail crockery shop in that burgh, and by her industry and management reared and educated her children. Her memory was ever honoured by her family—all-indebted to her sound sense, moral courage and paternal example. To this maternal care and influence Mr. Hume used to ascribe his own success and good fortune in life.

Mr. Hume's elementary education was obtained in the local schools of his native town. Reading, writing, "accounts," and a smattering of Scotch Latinity constituted the sum total of his "schooling." About the age of 13 he was placed apprentice to a surgeon apothecary of Montrose and he remained with his master about three years, chiefly occupied in compounding prescriptions. It has been generally reported that he graduated in Aberdeen, but he entered the medical classes of Edinburgh in 1793—continuing in that University till 1796, when he was admitted a member of the College of Surgeons of the modern Athens. On reference to the records of the College of Surgeons or London, in Lincoln's-inn-fields, we find that he passed as surgeon of an Indiaman on the 2d of February, 1797, at a meeting of the Court of Examiners of that corporation. There is no register of his Scotch or other certificates, but it is believed that he had previously "walked the hospitals" of this metropolis. We have heard that, with the interest of the late Mr. David Scott, M.P. for Forfar, he entered as assistant surgeon, the marine service of the East India Company, and in that and the following year made a voyage out and home, being absent from England about 18 months. At the India house we first trace him in the Company's Board's records as elected a full Assistant Surgeon, nominated by the then Chairman, Mr. J. Bosanquet, being reported Nov. 12, 1799, for the ship Houghton and Presidency of Bengal. His patrons, the Scotts, of Dunninald, Forfarshire, were politically connected with Montrose, where the Humes are said to have supported their interest. Mr. David Scott was in the East India Direction from 1788 to 1802, and other members of his family in high civil offices in Bengal. But, whoever aided the young Scotch surgeon in these his first steps in life, Joseph Hume, by his own talents and perseverance, was the meritorious architect of his own subsequent fortunes and celebrity. India only gave scope to his native power and energy of mind. We have heard that in his second voyage out, in one of the "ancient Arks" of the Company, crammed with passengers of all classes, conditions and professions, he volunteered on the accidental death of the Purser, to supply the duties of that deceased functionary during the remainder of the voyage—that his assiduity and good temper in that vocation gained him many friendships; and that on the arrival of the vessel in Calcutta the captain, officers and passengers gave him a public testimonial in acknowledgment of his gratuitous services. Thus, the young surgeon landed with a ready-made reputation. His keen instinct led him immediately to observe that few of the Company's servants acquired the native languages. He lost no time, therefore in setting to work and mastering that difficult accomplishment. Labour was to him a pastime, especially if any rupees could be gained by it. Mr. Hume, moreover, early studied the religions of the East and the superstitions of that vast and mixed Asiatic population, whose succession of creeds moulded into so many sects, is so essential a knowledge for the rule of India.

The authorities early recognised in young Hume a valuable and laborious servant. In 1802-3, on the eve of Lord Lake's Mahratta war, much consternation at the seat of Government occurred. On a discovery that the gunpowder in store was useless from damp, Mr. Hume's knowledge of chemistry fortunately came in aid of bad administration. He undertook the restoration of this all-important munition of war, and he succeeded. Attached to his medical capacity to a regiment in the expedition, he was almost immediately selected by Major-General Powell as the interpreter to the Commander-in-Chief. But our space will not permit us to follow this industrious man throughout his Indian career. Sufficient it is to mention, that he not only continued his medical duties, but filled successively important posts in office of paymaster and postmaster of the forces, in the prize agencies and the Commissariat. So recently as the late Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Military, Ordnance and Commissariat expenditure (of which he was an active and valuable member), he astonished his colleagues by the intelligence and acuteness of his examination of witnesses. On some expression of surprise in the Committee, he observed: "You forget I was once Commissary-General to an army of 12,000 men in India!" Not only did he gain high reputation by these multifarious civil employments, but he realized large emoluments. Peace concluded within five years Mr. Hume returned to the Presidency, and with a sufficient private fortune to justify his retirement from his profession, and, much sooner than falls to the lot of most men in the service of the East India Company, he resigned his civil employments, and arrived in England, the possessor of an honestly-earned fortune of £30,000 or £40,000.

The best proof of Mr. Hume's worthy possession of affluence was his use of pecuniary competency. On his arrival in Europe he continued his active pursuit of mental improvement and practical knowlege. In 1809 he made a tour of the United Kingdom, visiting all the principal ports and manufacturing towns of England, Scotland and Ireland; and, as "fact-hunting" was his pleasure, he devoted the greater portion of the years 1810 and 1811 to tours on the Continent, extending his travels to Spain, Portugal, Turkey, Greece, Egypt, the Ionian Isles, Sicily, Malta, Sardinia, &c.

The two ultimate objects of Joseph Hume, thus independent in circumstances, and in the prime of life, were the acquisition of seats in the East India Direction and in Parliament. We believe that at this period his political convictions and earlier associations had been those of a "Tory," but that home politics had been a secondary interest in his mind during his struggle in India for ways and means of pecuniary independence. Certain it is that the future Radical first entered the House of Commons as a Tory. The borough of Weymouth and Melcombe-Regis was the cradle of our aspiring legislator. The patron of the borough and one of its members (Sir John Lowther Johnstone) having died, Mr. Hume succeeded to the vacant seat in January, 1812, the last session of the Parliament. A Scotch solicitor, trustee of the deceased baronet, "introduced" Mr. Hume to the constituency for a valuable consideration. Mr. Hume had bargained for a second return. The new member took his seat on the Treasury bench, supporting the Percival Administration. His Ministerial votes were never abandoned for Liberal minorities. On the dissolution of Parliament the following Autumn the patrons of the seat refused him reelection. We have reason to believe that the ex-member's reforming and progressive tendencies having broken out in occasional visits to his constituents (which Hume thought it his duty to make, but which the trustees deemed works of superorogation), and at which he advocated schools and other social benefits, the Duke of Cumberland and his co-trustees—the patrons—determined to provide a substitute. Mr. Hume, we believe, on an arbitration, obtained some return-money for breach of the contract. It is by no means unlikely that experience of the "borough system" opened the eyes of the Indian Reformer to the defects in the representation.

During his six years' exclusion from the House of Commons, till elected for Aberdeen in 1818, Mr. Hume was not idle. He was an active member of the Central Committee of the Lancasterian School system. At this period, forming a friendship with the late Francis Place, of Westminster, he became deeply interested in the promotion of the moral and intellectual interests of the working classes, and in the improvement of their physical condition, and he also published a pamphlet advocating the establishment of savings-banks and on the principles of their subsequent foundation. Mr. Hume's natural ambition for a seat in the East India Direction found him now at liberty also for the untiring pursuit of this second object of personal honour and interest. Although invariably unsuccessful, it incensed his constant exposure of Indian abuses in each periodical meeting of the Proprietary. His canvass for the Direction also, by one of the fortunate accidents of life, was destined to have great influence on his further prosperity and happiness. On one occasion Mr. Hume had obtained access to a proxy for the election, late at [illegible] Bank of England street. Nevertheless, Mr. Hume effected his visit, and his forcible representation of Indian abuses, and of the efficacy of his curative prescriptions, if elected a Director, and of the consequent advantages to stockholders, established him in the good graces of the old gentleman, and, what was of more value, in those of the daughter. Although he failed to force the India-house, he won and wedded the lady—the present and excellent Mrs. Hume.

We resume Mr. Hume's public and Parliamentary career. He continued unseated till his return to the Parliament, which met on the 14th of January, 1819. We then find him representing the "Aberdeen District of Burghs," comprehending his native town of Montrose cum Brechin, Inverbervie and Aberbrothock. The whole electors of these self elect burghs, members of close corporations, did not then exceed 100 persons. The neighbouring Peers and Lairds were the half-dozen patrons. Mr. Hume, aided by the late Lord Panmure and by the Liberal Party of the North of Scotland, in a desperate struggle beat the borough-mongers, and succeeded in obtaining the return. This was the stepping-stone to his permanent and independent position in the House of Commons.

In 1830, Mr. Hume relinquished the Scotch burghs, being returned with the late Mr. Byng, unopposed, for Middlesex. He continued to sit for the metropolitan county till the dissolution of 1837, when in July Colonel Wood defeated him by a small majority. Mr. O'Connell in the same month returned him for Kilkenny. In the new Parliament of 1841, Mr. Hume was again defeated at Leeds. In 1842, on the retirement of Mr. Chalmers from Montrose, Mr. Hume returned to his old political love, and he has died in the service of his fellow-townsmen.

How are we to characterize or even note the Herculean labours of this prodigy in representative government? It is impossible, within the limits of volumes, to record his innumerable speeches in Parliament, his motions, his returns, his select committees, his reports, his personal and party contests in the House of Commons, much less his various agitations "out of doors." His speeches alone, during 37 years, occupy volumes of *Hansard*. In some Mr. Hume's speeches occur in 150 pages, on various political and legislative questions. We cannot attempt even an analysis of the chief subjects of his active and busy discussion. He is the modern Prynne, who defies all reprint comments or review. In this age of leveling legislation on social interests he was always "on his legs." He spoke oftener, and frequently made longer speeches, than any other member of the Commons since England enjoyed a House of Commons. In the Court of Directors and in Parliament he stood for the freedom of trade against the East India monopoly. He proposed sweeping and repeated plans of reform of the army, navy and ordnance, and of almost every civil department, of the established churches and ecclesiastical courts, of the civil and criminal laws, of the system of public accounts, of general taxation, duties and customs. He early advocated the abolition of military flogging, naval impressment and imprisonment for debt. He carried, almost single-handed, the repeal of the old combination laws, the prohibition of the export of machinery, and the act preventing workmen from going abroad. He led forlorn hopes against colonial abuses, against town and country municipal self-elect government, election expenses, the licensing systems, the duties on paper, print, "on tea, tobacco and snuff." He assaulted and carried by storm Orange lodges and close vestries, to say nothing of his aid of Catholic Emancipation, the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and the Reform Act of 1832. He was the unrelenting persecutor of sinecurists, drones and old men pretending to do the work of the young in the State. Out of doors he was a member of every Liberal and Radical club and association. He occupied for years the throne at the old Crown and Anchor Tavern, in Palace-yard, and in Covent-garden meetings.

Mr. Hume worked not for Whigs or Tories. He laboured for his country—for the world at large. He never put his faith in Sovereigns or in Governments. If he ever attached himself to any school it was that of political economy. In fact, he was indebted to James Mill, David Ricardo and Francis Place for much initiation in many of his principal legislative labours; and he early adopted their instruction. Mr. Hume never denied his obligations; his own individual merits were ample enough for any vanity. Mr. Hume had his faults and occasional errors as a public man, but we are now ill-disposed to detract from his incomparable service to his country. We view him as a whole. His pardonable weaknesses and occasional want of judgment, his very foibles, formed the man, and constituted his character and singleness of purpose.

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

Toast for all Parties.—To Miss Nightingale, and all the Ladies in the Crimea—except Miss Management.—*Punch.*

—Mr. Phillips, an American gentleman who was arrested at Basle, instead of M. Mazzini, has received 400f. for each day that he was a *detenu*. The director of police, who made the arrest, though his prisoner's citizenship was plainly proved to him, has been recommended to moderate a zeal so costly to the Federal treasury.

—Europe will soon be governed by sovereigns, all of whom may reckon their birth from this, the nineteenth century. Thus, the Emperor of the French is forty-six years of age; the Emperor of Austria, twenty-four; the Sultan, thirty-one; the King of Bavaria, forty-three; the King of Naples, forty-four; the Queen of Spain, twenty-four; the King Regent of Portugal, forty; the King of Denmark, forty-six; the King of Gre